POLYNESIA:

A HISTORY

OF THE SOUTH SEA ISLANDS,

INCLUDING

NEW ZEALAND.

WITH NARRATIVE OF THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY, &c.

BY THE

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"Till 'midst the streams of distant lands,
The islands sound his praise;
And all combin'd, with one accord,
Jehovah's glories raise."

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MDCCCLII.

PREFACE.

THE main object of this volume is to throw light on the introduction of Christianity and civilisation into the islands of the South Sea. From the moment that Wallis discovered the beautiful group which bears the name of George the Third, many schemes were formed for bettering the condition of the natives, who, at their first interview with Britons, though they saw much to excite their wonder, could receive no favourable impression as to the obligations of morality on the cultivated mind. It was not, however, till a later period that any plan was matured for conveying thither the knowledge of true religion and the elements of social improvement. Mercantile speculation had, indeed, been invited to the shores of Otaheite in quest of materials on which to found an intercourse beneficial to the inhabitants of both hemispheres; and Science had selected the spot as a theatre for her triumphs in the sublime department of astronomy. But the year 1796 had arrived before the benevolent spirit of the gospel undertook a nobler mission, animated by the hope of establishing among the gentle savages of the Pacific the foundations of a pure faith and the motives to a holy life.

A variety of opinion continues to prevail as to the effects produced by the labours of the missionary. Without presuming to determine the several points at issue

on dogmatical grounds, the author has supplied ample materials for forming a clear judgment, both as to what has been already accomplished, and also in regard to the result which must necessarily follow. A change has commenced, the consequences of which, for good or for evil, will undoubtedly be permanent. In no case has the convert, on either side of the equator, relapsed into his former usages, nor revived the hereditary superstition. His new belief may not be fully comprehended, and its influence on his conduct may be at once imperfect and unsteady; but, in all respects, he holds it to be incomparably better than that which he has relinquished, more reasonable in itself, and infinitely more conducive to his happiness. It is accordingly admitted by all who have visited those distant regions, that the cruel abominations of heathenism have not been any where resumed. A principle has been put in operation which no human power can counteract, for it has already connected itself with new institutions affecting the very basis of society, and given birth to hopes that can never be extinguished in the human heart.

Some pains have been taken to exhibit the actual condition of society in Polynesia;—the manners which have been adopted by the natives from their European visiters; the improvement of taste and sentiment among the higher class; a desire for the conveniences and even the luxuries of civilized life; and, above all, the disappearance of those gross indulgences which so often called forth the reprobation of the religious teacher. A view is also given of the manufacturing industry and commercial relations which have been established in some of the islands, more especially in those of the Sandwich group, where consuls from England and the United States have for some time past resided under the protection of the local government.

The attention of the reader is more particularly drawn to New Zealand, which, viewed in reference to trade and colonization, has of late assumed a paramount degree of importance in the eye of the public. Details are pre-

sented illustrating the progress which has been already made at the various settlements on the coast; describing the productions of the soil, both natural and exotic; and setting forth the vast capability of improvement in agriculture, fishing, manufactures, and, indeed, in every other field of human industry.

In delineating the state of the inhabitants in the smaller islands of the Pacific, the author has enjoyed the great advantage of perusing an unpublished work, written by a distinguished officer resident some years in that part of the globe, and which is repeatedly quoted under the title of a Manuscript Journal or Diary. The details are the more interesting that they appear not to have been intended for the press; being confined to the casual observations of an intelligent mind, invited to contemplate a new state of things, and under circumstances which could not have occurred had his position in society been materially different.

It has not been thought expedient to enter very deeply into the question which respects the origin of the Polynesian tribes, and the source whence their languages have been derived. On this subject, the reader will find much interesting discussion in the works of Reland, Forster, Crawfurd, Zuniga, Ellis, Lang, and in the posthumous volumes of William Humboldt. The more minute acquaintance with the natives, which has been obtained through the medium of recent voyagers, leaves no room for doubt that their progenitors must have proceeded from the eastern shores of Asia, and gradually spread, through various channels and at successive periods, over the surface of the great South Sea.

To the missionaries, the divine and the philosopher are greatly indebted for much valuable knowledge relative to the mythology, the traditions, the laws, government, and usages of the simple people whom they have brought within the pale of revealed religion

From the same source has been gained an acquaintance with their superstitions, their objects of worship, their notions of a future state, their arts of sorcery and divination, their mode of carrying on war, and, more especially, the atrocities of human sacrifice with which their battles were wont to be preceded and followed. Not less interesting are the details which illustrate the progress of education among the subjects of Pomare in the Georgian cluster, and of Tamehameha in the Sandwich Islands. Under such influence the power of civilization has everywhere made itself felt in a greater or less degree, combined with the principles of that divine faith which, while it elevates the standard of morality and taste, directs the thoughts of the convert to his eternal destination.

In the department of natural history, due notice is taken of the various hypotheses which have been entertained in relation to the structure of the several classes of islands spread over the Pacific, viewed in connexion with the causes to which they are imagined to owe their present form. The volcanic origin of the larger ones is illustrated by a reference to the rocks of which they are composed; while the extent to which the saxigenous polypes contribute to the elevation of others, is carefully estimated according to the clearest principles that science or observation has hitherto supplied.

In the other branches of natural science there is still a great deficiency of information, owing as well to the peculiar races of plants and animals which occupy Polynesia, as to the fact that the missionaries, having in view much more important objects, do not devote any particular attention to the zoology, the flora, or the silva of the respective islands. For this reason it has been resolved to defer all details on these various heads till a future occasion, when, in a separate work on Australasia, will be given, by a distinguished naturalist, a complete and systematic view of the sub-

ject as it respects the whole of the inhabited lands in the bosom of the South Sea.

The Map provided by the Publishers, with the view of illustrating the position of the several insular groups which fall within the compass of this volume, is constructed on the most approved principle, and presents to the reader, in a very intelligible form, the discoveries of all the recent voyagers in that vast expanse of ocean which stretches from Australia to the western shores of America.

August, 1852.

In the present edition the whole work has been revised, and Chapters XI., XII., and XIII., have been added. But in the case of a few names whose spelling has been altered by general recent usage, the old form, as Otaheite, Owhyhee, &c., has been allowed to stand in the body of the work, while the new form, as Tahiti, Hawaii, &c., has been used in the addition.

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POLYNESIA

CHAPTER I.

On the Physical Aspect of the South Sea Islands, and the supposed Origin of their Inhabitants.

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Earliest accounts of Polynesia.

UNTIL very lately the islands of the Great Southern Ocean were hardly known to Europeans in any other light than that of maritime romance; the scene on which some of our most renowned seamen performed their part as discoverers, and where they attempted to introduce the benefits of civilisation among a new people. From their reports, at first somewhat deficient in accuracy, it was gradually made known that certain green spots on the bosom of the Pacific were occasionally visited by the

CHAP. I. weary sailor, whose eye was fatigued with the monotonous view of the vast deep, or who might be threatened with the diseases incident to a long voyage in a tropical climate. But as yet, the narrative of adventure in those distant waters served only, like the Arabian tales, to regale the imagination, by exhibiting pictures of a natural magnificence not witnessed in colder regions, and of a childish simplicity in the unsophisticated tribes by whom the several groups were inhabited. It was not till a period comparatively recent that the philosopher was invited to contemplate human nature at one of the most interesting epochs of its history; that the attention of the statesman was drawn to a rising commonwealth on the high way between the African continent and the western shores of America; or that the christian world was cheered with the prospect of a new province being added to the peaceful dominions of the church.

Recent interest in the Polynesians.

In no point of view, indeed, is this subject more interesting to the philanthropist than as it illustrates the benign effects of true religion on the mind of man, even in his rudest state, and when still surrounded by the strongest inducements to evil. The rapid improvement which, in the Sandwich, the Friendly, and the Society Islands, has followed the labours of missionary zeal, is not less gratifying as a reward for past exertions than when regarded as an encouragement to future endeavours. In those remote establishments the savage has been seen to rise, as it were by a single effort, from the lowest condition in which human nature is ever found, to the erect posture of a civilized being; from the worship of the most contemptible idols to a veneration of the true God; and from habits of the grossest barbarism to the pursuit of rational knowledge and the love of refined enjoyment.

Their progress in civilization.

About twenty years had elapsed from the time that Columbus discovered America, when Vasco Nunez de Balboa beheld from a mountain in the isthmus of Darien the immense expanse of the ocean spreading out before him towards the noonday sun. He was not aware that

his eyes were then directed to a sea which stretches round the whole circumference of the globe, and contains, between the Cape of Good Hope and the shores whereon he stood, a multitude of islands, some of them equal to the mightiest kingdoms of the Old World, and one at least not inferior in extent to the whole of Europe. In truth, no scene could be more magnificent, whether as it respected the actual vision, or as it afforded scope to the fancy of an aspiring voyager. The various regions which lie scattered over its bosom possess all the advantages of a rich soil and a genial atmosphere, displaying at once the full beauty of spring combined with the luxuriance of autumn. Tufted groves mingle their foliage with the brilliant enamel of the meadows; while a perfume of exquisite sweetness embalms the air, which is constantly refreshed by delightful breezes from the ocean. The spontaneous productions of the earth exempt the inhabitants from all painful labour; the bread-tree yields a plentiful supply of food without demanding any severe return of care or toil; and the surrounding waters, rendered smooth by coral reefs, offer a great variety of fish, which can be obtained by means so simple as to resemble sport rather than an irksome drudgery.

Natural beauty of their country.

It will nevertheless be acknowledged that, without the hand of man, the finest scenes of nature are imperfect. Even under the most propitious climates, and with the richest mould, if mind has not been exerted to improve or direct their energies, the result is unsatisfactory; often offensive to the eye and disappointing to the hopes. Wherever the human being, the lord of this portion of creation, has neglected to interpose his industry, the vegetable and animal tribes remain destitute of the excellence which they are capable of attaining; they even languish and decay though enjoying every physical advantage. In most parts of the world unvisited by the arts of civilized life, impenetrable woods cover the surface; the trees are seen mutilated by the storm, or rotting on the ground; the fertile plain is encumbered with noxious weeds, or soaked with stagnant water; and

Effects of the want of cultivation.

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every thing that seems to grow is suffocated by an exuberant vegetation.

Results of colonization.

But as soon as the colonist from an enlightened country appears in such desolate regions, he eradicates the useless plants, and supplies their place with others fitted to give nourishment to himself and to the domestic animals whose service he employs. By removing all that is broken down and decayed, he relieves the air from putrefying effluvia; by opening a passage for the motionless waters, he gives to them an increasing limpidity, rendering them beneficial to all the tenants of his new abode; while the earth by receiving the kindly influence of the atmosphere becomes dry, and has its face soon covered with a lively verdure. The rays of the vertical sun no sooner begin to parch the surface of his field or vineyard, than he diffuses over them the refreshing water of the passing brook, and preserves the powers of vegetation. How beautiful and beneficent does nature become when improved by the industry of man, and what happy changes are produced by the arts of civilized life! The contrast now stated still meets the eye of the mariner, according as he happens to visit the wilds of New Zealand, or to approach the gentler shores of Otaheite, the fairest isle in the South Sea.*

Illustration of these in Polynesia.

These remarks will receive a striking illustration from comparing the present state of even that oceanic paradise, which owes so much to nature, with its condition as we find it described by the early navigators. The neat cottages which now display their white walls through the beautiful shrubberies wherewith they are surrounded; the ornamented gardens formed by the missionaries, who have also conveyed to them the finest fruits of Europe; and the regular fields which stretch along the valleys, protected by hedges or painted palisades, appear to the greatest advantage when seen in connexion with the wild scenery of the mountains and

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* Buffon, Première Vue de la Nature. Forster's Observations made during a Voyage round the World (4to, Lond. 1778), p. 135.

the dark shades of the native forests. In all cases, indeed, intellectual as well as physical, Providence bestows upon man only the raw material, leaving the improvement, whether for use or decoration, to his own industry and taste. Without culture the richest soil and the highest mental endowment are equally unprofitable; the one produces poisonous plants to deform the landscape and cover it with the shadow of death; the other gives power to the worst passions, disgraces the intercourse of life, and exposes the dearest interests of society to the most frightful hazards.

Extent of Polynesia.

Polynesia, according to our acceptation of the term, comprehends the several groups which lie within fifty degrees on either side of the prime meridian, and between the fiftieth parallel of south, and the thirtieth of north latitude; embracing an extent of ocean equal to about 7000 miles in the one direction, and nearly 5600 miles in the other. The principal clusters are the Ladrone Islands; the Caroline; the Pelew; the Solomon; New Hebrides; the Fijee; the Sandwich; the Marquesas; the Low, Coral, or Dangerous Islands; the Society and Georgian group; the Navigators' Islands; the Friendly Islands; the Austral Isles; and New Zealand. In addition to these there are many detached islets or fragments of land which will demand our notice, such as Pitcairn's, Easter, Chatham, Fanning's, and others not less important in the history of South Sea discovery.

Exclusive of the Indian Archipelago.

Viewed on a large scale, the various insular groups which may be traced between the eastern borders of the old continents and the western shores of the new, include a much wider range than those now mentioned, more especially if we take in the great Indian Archipelago, the islands of Sumatra, Borneo, and Java. But these vast tracts do not fall within the limits of our plan, which likewise rejects New Holland and its dependencies, now commonly known under the designation of Australia. With reference to the colour of the native inhabitants, the latter portion is by some French authors denominated Melanesia or the Black Islands, including, besides

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the principal one just mentioned, the settlement of Van Diemen's Land, New Guinea, New Ireland, New Hanover, the Solomon Islands, the Louisiade Archipelago, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and part of the Fijees. But we do not consider the complexion of the aborigines a sufficient ground of distinction in a work the object of which is not to give the physical history of mankind, nor to support any particular theory as to the natural causes of those varieties in colour and conformation which mark the usual scientific distributions of the human race. In relating the more prominent events that attended the progress of discovery, as well as those which have more recently given an interest to the introduction of religious knowledge and civilisation, we assume a wider principle as the basis of our narrative; restricting it only to such limits as convenience has suggested as suitable to the extent of a single volume. The other portions of Oceanica, that vast space, namely, which stretches from the sea of China to California, and from the isles of Japan to those of South Orkney, may hereafter invite the attention of our readers in a different form.

Limits assumed in this volume.

The name Polynesia was first applied to this interesting portion of the globe by the learned President de Brosses, in his History of Navigation, though two centuries earlier the same term had been used by certain authors with relation to the Moluccas, the Philippines, and some smaller groups situated still farther to the eastward. In several recent publications, the great islands of the Indian Archipelago are called the Hither Polynesia, while the more numerous clusters which extend into the bosom of the southern Pacific are described as the Farther Polynesia.

Descriptive outline.

Before entering on the details of discovery and settlement, it may prove not less entertaining than instructive to give an outline of the physical characters and geographical distribution of the several islands which constitute that portion of Oceanica, more especially as connected with the two principal causes to which they are supposed to owe their present form; namely, the

action of volcanoes, and the working of the small insect usually denominated the coral polypus.

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Nature has unquestionably given to that section of the earth a prominent and very characteristic physiognomy, diversified by numerous inequalities on the surface, and distinguished by lofty mountains, the direction of which, from north to south, indicates a striking polarity in their structure. These chains, at the same time, generally present, about the middle of their course, a decided bend from west to east. The best marked among them is that formed by the Ladrone, the Caroline, and the Mulgrave group, and are probably associated, by means of those called St Augustin and some other links, with the archipelago of the Navigators, or that of the Friendly Islands. Even among the Carolines, where the Polynesian series turns due east, the particular masses lie north and south. Another great chain makes its appearance in Luçon, the largest of the Philippines, which passes through the island of Palawan into that of Borneo. The direction of that well-known branch is from north-west to south-east, and bounds on one side the basin of the Chinese Sea. In New South Wales the long line of the Blue Mountains extends to Van Diemen's Land, terminating in immense masses of basalt at South Cape. The fourth great chain takes its commencement at the Andaman and Nicobar Islands, and in its progress gives rise to Sumatra, Java, Timor, and others of less magnitude. It runs in the form of a bow from north-west to south-east, then due east; but it probably passes by Cape Diemen, where it can have no other direction than from north to south.

Direction of the island-chains.

All the smaller archipelagos of Polynesia, too, lie north and south, of which New Caledonia and the New Hebrides form very distinct examples. The group of the Solomon Islands, bending from the south-east to the north-west, is continued in New Ireland and New Hanover. It often happens that the subordinate chains are individually terminated by a larger island than the others of which they are composed. For instance, Otaheite, Owhyhee, and Tierra del Espiritu Santo, are

The smaller Archipelagoes.

CHAP. I. found at the extremity of a series, most of which present very contracted limits.

These analogies, if carefully noted, might, it is imagined, have facilitated the progress of discovery, and in particular have contributed to make each archipelago more easily recognised. By attentively marking the direction of a chain, navigators might have rendered themselves almost certain of discovering new islands; and even now they ought to employ the guidance of a principle which would, in some measure, obviate the hazard occasioned by those immense reefs so common in the Southern Pacific, which, in all probability, follow the direction of chains at the bottom of the ocean. These huge projections make a part of the exterior skeleton of the earth, and radiate like lines from a common centre, or more probably like ribs from the vertebral column of the human figure. At all events, there is a perceptible uniformity in the operation of the law to which these phenomena must be attributed; and when the physical cause is once ascertained, there cannot be any doubt that much practical benefit would result from anticipating its effects, even in cases where there is no other light to direct the judgment.

Guide to discovery.

The volcanic islands.

Among the thousands of islands which shoot up in the South Sea, some rise to a considerable elevation, and generally present a conical form. Many of them are basaltic, often containing in their centres wide tunnels or cavities, and, at other times, round lakes which might be taken for ancient craters. Although the occurrence of volcanic substances has not, on satisfactory evidence, been every where ascertained, there has already been discovered a greater number of volcanoes than in any other part of the world. In the annals of early navigation these are sometimes mentioned as the most splendid appearances in nature; while, on other occasions, they are described with a feeling of unmingled horror. On one place near New Guinea, the flames and smoke rise calmly over a fruitful country; but on the northern verge of the Marians, dreadful torrents of black lava darken the shore.

The coral islands.

All the low islands seem to have for their base a reef of coral rocks generally disposed in a circular form. The middle space is commonly occupied by a sheet of water, on the margin of which the sand is mixed with pieces of broken coral and other marine productions. These facts have been employed by speculative writers with the view of proving that all the islets must have originated in the labours of the diminutive insects already noticed, and been afterwards enlarged and raised above the surface of the ocean by the accumulation of light substances drifted to them by the action of the waves. It is, however, very remarkable, that among the islands so constituted, some are almost level with the sea, while others are elevated several hundred feet; though on the summits of these last are found masses of coral perforated in the same manner with those found at the water's edge. Now, as the animalcules which raise these submarine habitations cannot live above the face of the deep, it is manifest either that the Pacific has sunk to a lower level, or that the several islands have been raised by an expansive force acting from below. There can be no doubt that the latter agent ought to be assigned as the true cause of the phenomenon.

The saxigenous polypes.

It is still a question whether the polypes originate the stoney bodies they inhabit, or whether they find them prepared for their occupation by the hand of nature. Forster, whose experience gives some weight to his opinions on this subject, was inclined to believe that the little creatures actually form the matter which composes the coral masses, and consequently that, by their means, new islands are in a constant process of formation. The great Captain Cook, after a careful investigation of facts, had arrived at the same conclusion. Dalrymple, on the other hand, thinks that these rocks take their rise at the bottom of the sea, from which they are detached by currents or tempests, and thrown on the sandbanks. This, no doubt, may take place in some localities; but the principle most assuredly cannot apply to those reefs which rise like walls in the midst of the ocean. Around New Holland, for example, the

CHAP. I. rocks in question ascend, like perpendicular ramparts, from a very great depth. Such structures, it is obvious, must derive their origin from the animals themselves, unless we attempt to account for them on the grounds of a new hypothesis, which intimates that they may grow in a manner similar to the common seaweed, and that the insects found on them are analogous to those which take up their abode on trees and herbs; a conclusion to which the arborescent appearance of some corals, and the fungous forms of others, are supposed to give a certain degree of countenance.

Operations of the polypes.

By some authors these animalcules are called saxigenous, or rock-making, polypes. They are supposed to begin their operations by selecting a suitable spot, such as the summit of a volcano, or the top of a submarine mountain. Having chosen their site, with a reference, it should seem, to an ultimate object, they work with incredible diligence until they reach the surface, above which, as we have already stated, their nature and habits do not permit them to proceed. Mr Lyell remarks, that the circular or oval forms of the numerous coral isles of the Pacific, with the lakes in their centre, naturally suggest the idea that they are nothing more than the crests of submarine volcanoes, having the rims and bottoms of their craters overgrown with coral. This opinion is strengthened by the conical shape of the islands, and the acute angle at which they plunge on all sides into the surrounding ocean. It has also been observed, that although within the circular reefs there is usually nothing discernible but a lagoon, the bottom of which is covered with coral, yet within some of these basins, rocks, composed of porous lava and other volcanic substances, rise up, resembling eminences of igneous origin which have been formed in an epoch not beyond the limits of human observation.*

The lagoons

It is stated by Mr Forster that the polypes raise their

* Lyell's Principles of Geology (4 vols 12mo, 5th edition, Lond. 1837), vol. iii. pp. 287, 288. Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Voyages and Discovery in the South Pacific Ocean (4to, Lond. 1770), p. 22.

habitation gradually from a small base, always spreading more and more in proportion as the structure grows higher. The materials, he adds, are a kind of lime mixed with some animal substance. A few miles to the leeward of Turtle Island there was observed a considerable reef, over which the sea broke at all points, and no part of it was entirely under water. East and north-east of the Society group are numerous islets which are only partially raised above the surface; while in some clusters the elevated portions are connected by reefs occasionally dry at ebb-tide. The insects inhabiting these dikes appear as if desirous to shelter their dwelling from the impetuosity of the winds and the rage of the ocean; but as within the tropics the current of air commonly proceeds from one quarter, they, by instinct, endeavour to extend a ledge enclosing a lagoon, which is thereby entirely screened against the power both of the waves and of the breeze. This process, which is not inconsistent with the opinion entertained by Mr Lyell, is generally admitted to be the most probable cause whence have originated those low islands which stud the intertropical latitudes of the Great South Sea.*

The coral reefs.

But the High Islands, such as appear decidedly to have had an igneous origin, are more important, viewed as the habitations of man, than the coral ridges just described. It has been already remarked that nearly all the regions of the Pacific bear the most unequivocal marks of having been the scene of volcanic action on a vast scale, and that the prevailing features of the larger masses of land confirm the inference which may still be drawn from the imperfect traditions of the people. Some of the isles present volcanoes in a state of activity; others exhibit only the form and altitude which denote a similar origin in remote ages; while a third class display undoubted tokens of having been violently changed by the force of subterranean fire, if not by the more

The high islands.

* Forster's Observations, p. 149-151.

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sudden shock of an earthquake. Tanna and Pico belong to the first class; Otaheite, Huaheine, and Bolabola, are distinct specimens of the second; and Easter Island may be adduced as an example of the third. In this last all the rocks are black, burnt, and honeycombed; some have the appearance of slag; nay, even the soil, which is but thinly spread over the calcined masses, bears a close resemblance to dark-yellow ochre.*

Williams' division of the high islands.

Mr Williams, the author of an interesting work on the South Sea, divides the islands of Plutonic origin into two orders, the Mountainous and the Hilly. In the former, the height of the land varies from 2000 to 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, the towering summits gradually rising from their base till they are lost in the clouds. The sides of these magnificent elevations are clothed with bright verdure of various shades, blending together in a very striking manner the elements of grandeur, wildness, sublimity, and beauty. All the islands of this class exhibit indubitable marks of volcanic eruption. In many of them the rocks are composed of a fine-grained basalt; in others pumice is found, together with stones of varied appearance, which have evidently undergone the action of fire. It is clear, moreover, that all these islands have at one time been under water; for at the top of the highest peaks, coral, shells, and other marine substances, are seen in great abundance. The savage and romantic appearance of the rocks, their broken, abrupt, and irregular forms, also indicate that at some remote era they have been subjected to disruption by the power of some mighty agent affecting their interior.

The hilly islands.

The islands which fall under the denomination of Hilly, vary in height from 100 to 500 feet, and are, in a great degree, destitute of the volcanic phenomena which abound in the others. The rocks, which are said to resemble the aragonite of the Giant's Causeway, are supposed to have been originally coral, and to owe

* Forster's Observations, p. 153.

their present hardness to the action of the atmosphere, as well as to that of water percolating from above through the mass while in a porous state.* CHAP. I.

Encompassing reefs.

All the Society Islands and many others in the Pacific are surrounded by a belt of secreted rock, from two to twenty yards in width, and situated at a distance which varies from a few feet to more than a mile. Against this barrier the long rolling waves of the ocean are driven with a terrific violence, and towering in one sheet to an immense height, dash themselves upon it with majestic power, though without producing any perceptible effect. The water between the reef and the shore is placid and transparent, at the bottom of which, and in the sloping sides of the banks, an enchanting picture presents itself. Coral of every shape and of every hue, intermingled in the richest profusion, suggests to the imagination the idea of a submarine flower-garden; while among the branches of the madrepore, and the spreading leaves of other varieties, fish of every colour gambol about in conscious security.

But, in point of fact, the distinction now stated between mountainous and hilly does not apply to the physical principles according to which the several islands have been formed; for, as is well known, every one of them hitherto examined consists either of volcanic rocks or of limestone. With regard to the thickness of the coral masses, it has been thought that the species of polypus which contributes most to their formation, does not live where the water is deeper than twenty-five or thirty feet. But it is not improbable that the branched madrepores, which exist at very considerable depths, may lay the foundation of a reef, and raise the platform on which the others are built.

Thickness of the coral.

These conjectures, however, do not possess any strong claim upon our confidence, and are only entitled to be ranked with those other opinions which have been brought forward relative to the rate at which coral is supposed to grow in the vaults of the great deep. A

* Williams' Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the South Sea Islands (8vo, Lond. 1837), p. 21.

CHAP. I. modern author observes that the tendency of polypes to multiply in the seas of warm climates is so great, that the bottom of the tropical ocean swarms with countless myriads of them, ever actively employed in constructing their small but enduring habitations. Almost every volcanic cone and ridge, under the surface of the ocean, is made the nucleus of a colony. The calcareous secretions are accumulated into enormous banks or reefs, sometimes stretching to a length of many hundred miles; and these continually rising to view in spots where they were unknown before, endanger the navigation of many parts within the torrid zone.*

Extent of the coral formations.

There is reason to doubt whether the process be quite so rapid as these remarks might seem to establish. The period of observation has not yet been sufficiently extended to afford ground for any conclusions as to the rate or the precise mode in which such additions to the crust of the earth are effected. The latest surveys, indeed, appear to warrant the opinion that the growth of coral is not so quick as has been commonly imagined. During the late expedition to the Pacific, directed by Captain Beechey, no positive information could be obtained of any channel having been filled up within a given period; and it seems placed beyond doubt, that several reefs had remained more than half a century at nearly the same elevation, at least if measured by the flow of the tide. It is admitted, nevertheless, that the increase of coral limestone may vary greatly according to the situation of mineral springs; for, in volcanic countries, these are known to issue in considerable abundance at the bottom of the ocean. Examples occur even in the Mediterranean, where they sometimes cause the sea at great depths to be fresher than at the surface; a phenomenon which is said to be very common near some of the islands in the Pacific.†

Slowness of their growth.

* Buckland's Geology and Mineralogy considered with Reference to Natural Theology (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1836), vol i. pp. 443, 444. Williams' Narrative, p. 29.

† Lyell, vol. iii. p. 282. Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1831), vol. i. p. 258.

The next question which naturally presents itself to the consideration of a philosophical inquirer is that which respects the origin and character of the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. In the first place, it is clearly ascertained that there are two distinct races of men who, from a very remote period, have occupied Polynesia, whose physical qualities are different, and whose languages have hardly any elements in common. The one class bear a considerable resemblance to the negro tribes; having a black complexion, woolly hair, and depressed features. The other, from their colour and general appearance, seem to claim an affinity to the eastern Asiatics, and are supposed to have found their way, at an early age, from the Malayan Peninsula to those clusters of islands that gird the equator at a greater distance towards the east.

Origin of the Polynesians.

It has been said that a tabular view of certain words in the Malayan, the Asiatic, the American, and the Polynesian tongues, would probably show that at some remote period the inhabitants of these several parts of the world maintained frequent intercourse, or, at all events, that colonies from some one of them originally contributed to people the others. The striking analogy between sundry parts of speech, not less than the similarity of customs prevailing among the aborigines of Madagascar, the Malays, and the Eastern Islanders, would make manifest that they are essentially one people, or at least, that they had migrated from the same source. It is alleged, too, that in many points the language and traditions of the Americans so strongly resemble those of Asia as to lead to the inference that they also must have made their way from the eastern shores of the old continent.

Analogies of their language.

But whether some of the tribes, whose motion from west to east across Behring's Straits we are now assuming, became the progenitors of the race who at present possess the Aleutian Islands; and whether, at some subsequent era, the settlers on the American coast were driven by the trade-winds to the Sandwich group, whence they

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afterwards proceeded to others southward of the line, are questions which cannot be determined with any degree of certainty. Nor is it more easy to decide whether those of them who, in the course of time, had penetrated so far down as the valleys of Chili and Peru, trusted themselves at length to the Pacific, peopled Easter Island, and continued in their progress towards the west till they met the tide of emigration flowing from Java and Sumatra, where the Malays are still found to constitute the majority of the inhabitants. At all events, from a variety of facts connected with those countries, it has been supposed by several authors, either that part of the people who dwell in the islands of the South Sea must have proceeded from America, or that certain tribes of Polynesians, at some former epoch, had accomplished a passage thither, and formed a permanent settlement.

Their original migrations.

Some writers have maintained that numerous skeletons discovered in the caverns of Kentucky and Tennessee are the remains of a Malay tribe; and this opinion seems to be founded on the circumstance, that some of the bodies were wrapped in feather cloaks similar to those used in the Sandwich and Fijee Islands, and also that the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio are clearly of a Polynesian character. From these facts it has been inferred that the North Americans, South Sea Islanders, and Malays were formerly the same people, or descended from one common origin as natives of Eastern Asia.

Difficulties of their migrations.

As to the difficulties which must have attended the passage of the first inhabitants from the American continent to the most eastern of the islands in the Pacific, these, it is asserted, are not greater than would necessarily oppose the migration of an equally rude people from the Society to the Sandwich Archipelago; and yet the identity of the inhabitants of these two clusters has never been disputed. It is, indeed, by no means obvious which of the two portions now mentioned of the Farther Polynesia was first colonized. Evidence of a great antiquity may be adduced in favour of both; but Mr. Ellis, no mean

judge, is, for various reasons, disposed to conclude that the Sandwich Islands were settled before the Society, the Georgian, and the Friendly, on the opposite side of the equator. Their genealogies, he remarks, extend much farther back ; and several names are used in Otaheite and its dependencies, which seem to have been borrowed from Owhyhee as a parent state. If, then, according to this hypothesis, it be supposed that any part of the American continent was planted by a maritime people, whether Malayan or Japanese, a portion of the same tribe who settled in Nootka, and whose relics are said to have been discovered in Tennessee, might possibly proceed at a later period to the Sandwich Islands, and from thence, in different ages, spread over the whole of Eastern Polynesia.

Ellis's hypothesis.

Zuniga, the learned author of a history of the Philippine Isles, has urged, with considerable ingenuity, a number of reasons in support of the conclusion that the Polynesians must originally have emigrated from the American continent.* For example, he draws confirmation to his opinion from the singular circumstance that the names of places in the interior of South America are very similar to those of the Philippines. A great many other words, it is added, are either actually of Malayan derivation, or assimilate closely to that language. In examining the structure of the two tongues, he felt himself compelled to adopt the opinion that they flow from one source ; and he affirms, accordingly, that the Indians resident in the Philippines are descended from the aborigines of Chili and Peru.*

Zuniga's hypothesis.

The facts stated by this writer, though somewhat questionable on philological grounds, are not only admitted by more recent inquirers, but are even employed by them to establish the position that the Indo-Americans and Polynesians are one people. On this head, indeed, there seems to be little difference of opinion ; but while Zuniga and perhaps Mr Ellis maintain that

* Historia de les Isles Philippinas.

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Counter-reasonings of other authors.

the progenitors of the latter tribes must have proceeded from Mexico, others pronounce such a conclusion to be inadmissible for the following reasons:—First, It implies that the inhabitants of the western coast of America were a maritime community, though, by the very nature of their country, they seem to have been at all times precluded from navigation and commerce; and, secondly, It is based on the groundless assumption, that not only were they addicted to the sea, but also that they must have been in the habit of making long voyages into the Pacific. Besides, though it is not improbable that a single canoe belonging to Easter Island, driven accidentally off the land by a westerly gale, might, in the course of a few weeks, reach the American continent, it is almost certain, that out of a thousand sailing from Chili, not one would discover that diminutive spot in the midst of the waves.*

Probabilities of Malayan descent.

On the other hand, the Malays have long been distinguished for their enterprise as a nautical people, as well as for their adventures in distant commerce. During several ages, they have had a fishery on the northern coast of New Holland, whither they resort annually with a large fleet; and, in such circumstances, it is extremely probable that chance, or the indulgence of a natural curiosity, would carry some of them to the New Hebrides or even the Friendly Islands. We learn besides, on the authority of La Perouse, that westerly winds are as frequent as those from the eastward, in a zone of not less than seven or eight degrees on each side of the equator; and, moreover, that in those regions they are so variable as to render it little more difficult to make a voyage in the one direction than in the other. The observations of this distinguished seaman have been amply confirmed by the reports of later voyagers; and, in point of fact, the uniformity of the trade-winds near the equinoctial line is no longer maintained by the best writers on hydrography. Hence,

* Lang's View of the Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation, 12mo, Lond. 1834.

it is inferred, that the western winds of the Indian seas having once driven the Malays into the Pacific, these adventurous sailors would subsequently pass from one island to another, until they peopled the numerous groups of that extensive ocean.

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Reasons against American descent.

But it is farther maintained by another class of authors, on the grounds of philology, tradition, physical properties, and distinctive habits, that the South Sea Islands could not have been peopled from America. Their reasoning generally proceeds on the assumption, that between the natives of the Pacific and the inhabitants of Mexico and Peru, there is no such resemblance in the particulars now stated as would be required to establish the conclusion of their having sprung from the same lineage; whereas, with reference to these grand characteristics, there appears satisfactory evidence that, at least, the light-coloured tribes of Polynesia must have migrated directly from the Asiatic shores.*

Caste.

First, there is the distinction of caste, the most ancient, and, at the same time, the most remarkable feature of society among the people of Eastern Asia. This principle of discrimination, as applied to the several orders of the inhabitants, prevails to a great extent in the South Sea; and at Otaheite, more especially, as we shall afterwards have occasion to observe, it was wont to interfere with the most ordinary transactions of life. In all the Friendly Islands, the several castes are not less minutely defined; and, as elsewhere, the priestly class rank so high, that on certain occasions their chief takes precedence of the king.

Taboo.

Next may be mentioned the singular institution of Taboo, which is also regarded as having had its rise in Asia. This restriction, it is well known, extends to persons, places, and things; and whatever is subjected to its operation acquires for the time a character of sacredness which cannot be neglected without incurring the severest penalty. In some cases, abstractedly from the religious

* Lang's Polynesian Nation, p. 5, &c.

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motive, it is allowed to have been necessary as well as politic. For example, after the national festivals, at one time so frequent in all the islands, and at which such quantities of provisions were consumed as to threaten a general famine, the taboo was imposed during some months on certain articles of food, which could not otherwise have been preserved. In New Zealand, the seed-potatoes, always separated in harvest from the rest of the stock, are placed in a consecrated storehouse; and every person found stealing from such a depot is visited with the last punishment of the law.

Circumcision.

In the third place, there is practised in the Friendly, the Fijee, and the Society Islands, the rite of circumcision, which, on a high authority, we can distinctly trace to an Asiatic province. It is not, indeed, regarded in the South Sea as a religious ceremony, but perpetuated merely as an ancient custom of which no account can be given, and for the use of which no reason is assigned.

We pass over some of the other proofs adduced in support of the hypothesis that the Polynesians must have migrated from Asia, because several of the usages on which they are founded appear to be common to the greater number of barbarians in all parts of the world. It is very remarkable, however, that in the Fijee Islands the principal wife must be strangled at her husband's death, and buried with him; a practice which, without any charge of hasty reasoning, may be attributed to the pride and jealousy of Asiatic manners. The suttees of Hindostan, it is more than probable, have afforded at once the example and the authority.

Tradition of Malayan descent.

In addition to the facts now mentioned, there is, we are assured, a general tradition among the islanders of the South Sea that the first inhabitants came from lands in the north-west. Bolatoo, the imaginary paradise of the Friendly Isles, is supposed to be situated in that region of the earth, and is venerated both as the cradle of their ancestors and the resting-place of their souls. In confirmation of this remark, it is stated that Tonga, the name of the largest island in their group, signifies

East both in the Chinese and Polynesian languages; and this term will not appear inappropriate as the designation of a territory which the first settlers had reached in a voyage from the borders of Asia.

Physical resemblance to the Malays.

Nor has it ever been denied that, in their physical conformation and general character, the natives of the Eastern Pacific bear a strong resemblance to the Malays. The same cast of countenance prevails throughout many of the islands; a circumstance of much more weight, perhaps, than any similarity of dress or mode of living. Mr Marsden has observed that the original clothing of the Sumatrans is the same with the material found in the South Sea, and which in Europe is usually called Otaheitan cloth. The chewing of betel, too, has been detected many thousands of miles distant from India; a country where both the root and the habit of using it are thought to have originated. But such coincidences, though corroborative of an argument based on firmer ground, are too slight to support a conclusion independently of historical monuments or a distinct tradition. The same observations will apply to the inferences drawn from the manner of sitting at food, and the exclusion of females from their meals, because these are practices which present nothing peculiar, and are in no degree characteristic of any one family of savages.

Resemblances of language.

We therefore agree with those who lay more stress on the structure of their language, as being at once less open to objection and much better calculated to convince. The identity of the tongues spoken in the different groups of the South Sea Islands was observed by Captain Cook, as well as the striking likeness between these dialects and those of the Indian Archipelago. It is now, indeed, the prevailing opinion, that in the general character, as well as in the particular form and genius of the innumerable languages spoken within the limits of this latter range, there is a remarkable resemblance, while all of them differ widely from such as are used in every other portion of the world. This observation, we are assured, may be extended to all those regions, from the

CHAP. I. north-western extremity of Sumatra to the shores of New Guinea, from Madagascar to the Philippines, and even to the remotest islands of Polynesia on the south.*

A similar conclusion appears to have been formed by La Perouse, who, at first, could perceive no difference between the language of the people in the Navigators' and that of the natives in the Society and Friendly Islands; and who afterwards, upon a closer examination, discovered that they spoke only dialects of the same tongue. A fact which contributed to establish the accuracy of this inference was supplied by a young man on board his ship, who was born in Luçon, near Manilla, and who could understand and interpret most of the words they uttered. Now, it is known that the Tagayan, Talgal, and, in short, all the forms of speech employed in the Philippines, are derived from the Malay; and this language, more widely spread than those of the Greeks and Romans he found to be common to the numerous tribes who inhabit the small islands on either side of the equator. Hence, it appeared to him in the light of a truth demonstrated, that these several nations are derived from Malayan colonies, who, at very remote periods, must have conquered the lands they now possess; and perhaps even the Chinese and Egyptians, whose antiquity is so much vaunted, are modern, compared to these interesting islanders.†

One tongue of many dialects.

But it has been justly observed, that an attempt to ascertain which of the Polynesian dialects should be considered the parent stock, must prove as fruitless as would be that of determining which of the Teutonic tongues gave birth to the others. To this question their subsequent degree of improvement has no direct relation. We must be content to regard the insular language as original, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, implying no more than such a degree of obscurity as would render abortive every attempt to trace the

Its origin untraceable.

* Lang's Polynesian Nation, p. 18.

† Voyage de la Perouse autour du Monde (4 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1798), tome iii. p. 277, &c.

line of its derivation. With the monosyllabic vocables of the nearest continent, its terms, mostly dissyllabic, are wholly unconnected, although it is admitted that, in their grammatical arrangement, some analogies may be discovered; while, with reference to the languages which prevail on the western coast of South America, from which Easter Island is not very remote, the slightest affinity does not appear. We are ignorant even of the general direction in which it may itself have spread over the Indian Archipelago. It may be presumed that its progress was from the west towards the east; and yet, some of the most copious and artificial dialects are found among the Philippines, at a great distance from Sumatra, Java, and the peninsula of Malacca, usually esteemed the seats of the parent speech.*

Its dispersion over Oceanica.

It is worthy of notice, at the same time, that the Malayan is not held to be the source whence the dialects of the South Sea Islands have immediately proceeded. Their connexion, it is maintained, is merely that of sisterhood; and although, from accidental advantages, the difference between them has become so great, that, on a superficial view, the former might be thought to belong to a distinct family, yet a comparison of its most simple terms with those of the less cultivated dialects, will furnish abundant evidence of their original consanguinity. In the more familiar words, the coincidence is frequent and unequivocal; and in those instances where it appears to fail, the dissimilitude often arises from the customary employment of synonymous expressions, one of which, in preference to the other, has happened to prevail in particular islands. Allowance must also be made for peculiar modes of utterance; it being usual, in some districts, to give the full effect to the consonants, whilst, in others, they are liquefied to a soft and almost vowel sound.†

Its affinity to the Malayan.

The affinity here supposed to exist between the Ma-

* Miscellaneous Works of William Marsden, F. R. S., &c. (4to, Lond. 1834), p. 7, &c.

† Ibid. p. 9.

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layan and Polynesian tongues, is tacitly referred to their common origin in some older language spoken by the people of Eastern Asia. In endeavouring to ascertain the country whence the lighter-complexioned inhabitants of Sumatra and the adjoining islands must have proceeded, it is natural to turn to the nearest continent; and, in support of the opinion that they migrated thence, it may be stated that all the descriptions with which we have been furnished of the people of Siam and the Burmese empire, represent them, in point of colour, features, and other personal qualities, as bearing a close resemblance not to the Malays only, but to all the other long-haired tribes of the archipelago. Besides these natural appearances, which, in most cases, would be thought sufficient to justify the belief of an original identity of race, there are practices of a peculiar kind, unknown in other parts of the world, followed by the Polynesians in common with the Indo-Chinese. Among these may be enumerated the habit of filing and blackening the teeth, eradicating the hairs of the face and body, and distending the lobes of the ears. In war also, the usage equally prevails of carrying a number of sharp-pointed stakes to fasten in the ground for the purpose of impeding the pursuit of an enemy. Even the custom of tattooing the limbs, although not observed among the Malays, nor any of the civilized tribes, is still retained in several of the Philippine Islands, as well as in some of those which lie near the western coast of Sumatra.

Origin of the Sumatrese.

Notwithstanding the obscurity which continues to hang over this subject, there is no doubt that an affinity subsists between the inhabitants of the Indian Archipelago and those of the more distant Polynesia; and when all circumstances are duly weighed, it may not seem unreasonable to conclude that the Southern Islands have been colonized both directly, through the medium of the Malay establishments on either side of Torres Straits, and also by means of casual migrations into the northern parts of America and a subsequent departure from the same continent in a lower latitude.

Affinity between them and the Polynesians.

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Williams's hypothesis.

The question of origin has been examined with considerable success by Mr Williams, the late missionary, who, in regard to the copper-coloured Polynesians, perceives no difficulty. Their physical conformation, their general character, and the Malay countenance, furnish, he thinks, indubitable evidence of their Asiatic origin. He adverts, likewise, to the proofs already adduced, arising from the similarity of the caste of India and the taboo of the South Sea Islands; the sameness of the opinions which prevail respecting women, and the treatment they receive in Bengal and Otaheite, more especially the common practice of forbidding them certain kinds of food, or to partake of any in the presence of men; their inhuman conduct to the sick; and the immolation of the wives at the funeral of their husbands. The argument is, moreover, strengthened by a reference to the language of the Malays and Polynesians, in which, it is maintained, there is a great resemblance. Many of the words are the same in all the dialects of the several insular groups; but the identity is very remarkable in the speech of the New Zealanders, Rarotongans, and others, who introduce the hard consonants and nasal utterance.

Distance no objection to it.

Nor was this intelligent author ignorant of the objections usually urged against his hypothesis, namely, the distance of the Malay coast from the Society Islands; the prevalence of easterly winds within the tropics; and the unfitness of canoes for performing so long a voyage. In reference to the first, it is admitted that the distance would prove an insuperable obstacle, were there not the means of accomplishing the run by stages comparatively short. For example, assuming that the first settlers in the southern isles of the Pacific had proceeded from the Malay coast or Sumatra, they would reach Borneo after a sail of only 300 miles; and then, by crossing the Straits of Macassar, not more than 200 miles broad, they would arrive at Celebes. From thence to New Guinea the distance is about 400 miles; but there intervene the two large islands of Bessy and Ceram.

CHAP. I. The New Hebrides might next be attained by similar movements, whence the voyage to the Fijees, the Friendly, the Navigators', the Harvey, the Society, and all the remoter clusters might be performed even in such vessels as the natives at present possess.

Facility of passage across the Pacific.

In reaching New Zealand from Tongataboo or the Fijee Islands, little difficulty would be experienced. The distance is about 1200 miles; but if the wind happened to be from the north-east, which is a frequent occurrence, the voyage could be performed in a few days. The missionary's own boat was on one occasion driven from Otaheite to Atiu, and on another from Rarotonga to Tongataboo, a distance altogether of 1500 miles. He mentions also, that some natives of Aitutaki had been drifted in a single canoe to Proby's Island, which is situated 1000 miles westward of their own.

As to the prevalence of the easterly trade-winds, deemed by some a conclusive argument against the Asiatic origin of the South Sea Islanders, the difficulty is by no means insuperable. Every two months there are westerly gales, which continue some time; and in February there are what the natives call *toerau maehaa*, or the westerly twins, when the wind blows from that point several days, and then veers round the compass. This breeze from the west sometimes continues a fortnight. The longest voyage from Sumatra to Otaheite would not exceed 700 miles; and Mr Williams himself, in his first trip to the Navigators' Islands, sailed 1600 miles due east in a few days.

The Malays' means of making that passage.

It ought to be observed, too, in respect to the means possessed by the Malays in former times, that long before they were visited by Europeans there were some powerful maritime states in the Indian Archipelago. In 1573, the King of Acheen appeared with a fleet, which is described as covering the Straits of Malacca. He ordered an attack upon three Portuguese frigates that were in the road protecting some vessels loaded with provisions; and the onset was executed with such a furious discharge of artillery, that the ships were in-

stantly destroyed with all their crews. In 1582, the same king again appeared before Malacca with a flotilla of 150 sail; and in 1615, one of his successors attacked the settlement with an armament including 500 vessels of various size and 60,000 men.*

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Their acquaintance with navigation.

It is obvious that a people so far advanced in the art of navigation could easily accomplish a voyage to the remotest parts of the Pacific. Nay, we are informed by a recent authority, that the northern coast of New Holland has been known to the Malays many years; and a fleet, to the number of 200 proas, annually leaves Macassar for the fishery there. It sails in January, during the *westerly* monsoon, and coasts from island to island till it reaches the north-eastern shore of Timor, when it steers east and south south-east, which courses carry them to the coast of New Holland. The body of the fleet then proceeds *eastward*, leaving here and there a division of fifteen or sixteen proas, under the command of an inferior rajah, who is the only person provided with a compass. After having fished along the shore in that direction, until the westerly monsoon breaks up, they return; and by the last day of May, each detached squadron leaves the coast without waiting to collect into one body.†

Physical character of the Malayan race.

The class of men to whom these remarks apply, and who, by the consent of all travellers, are in respect of origin associated with the natives of the north-eastern borders of Asia, are distinguished, as we have already mentioned, by complexions of a yellowish-brown colour, with faces somewhat flat, and long black hair. But this race does not possess the whole of the intertropical islands; on the contrary, there is another, perhaps the more ancient of the two, who, in their physical characters, approach to the least favoured portion of the African

* Marsden's History of Sumatra, p. 431. Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 510.

† King's Narrative of a Survey of the Intertropical and Western Coasts of Australia (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1827), vol. i. p. 135.

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negroes, having skins nearly black, projecting jaws, with hair crisp and frizzled, and growing in tufts. These occupy not only New Holland and the group of New Guinea, but also several islands in both the Hither and Farther Polynesia, and even the interior ot the Malayan Peninsula itself. Though they have national appellations in different parts of the Pacific, they are known, as a body, by the general term Papúah. By the Spaniards, who first revealed their existence to Europeans, they were called Negritos, and by our own early navigators they were distinguished as New Guinea negroes. Their numerous languages, varying, as it should seem, with every tribe, bear no radical affinity to those used by the fairer descriptions of the Polynesian family; although, in consequence of plundering expeditions and the abstraction of females, many words peculiar to the latter have been adopted by the black population.

Appellations of the Malayan race.

The two classes of the Polynesians.

The two classes seem to be divided by the prime meridian, or that which passes through the 180th degree from Greenwich. Part of the Fijees, together with those islands which are situated between them and the eastern coast of New Holland, are inhabited by the negro race; more especially, New Guinea, New Britain, New Ireland, the Archipelago of Louisiade, the Solomon Isles, New Caledonia, the New Hebrides, and part of the Ladrones. There is, indeed, in most of the islands a partial intermixture of the races; but the geographical distinction now stated will be found to hold with sufficient accuracy. A difficulty still remains in regard to the singular fact, that a nation so very different should be interposed between the Malays and the islands to which so large a body of them have at various periods migrated. To account for this circumstance it has been suggested, that the negro race may have possessed the whole of the islands prior to the invasion of the copper-coloured tribes from the north-west, and that the latter, being a more civilized and warlike people, succeeded in extirpating them from the smaller groups on both sides of the equator.

Mention is likewise made of a third order of natives, who generally occupy the interior and less accessible parts of the islands, especially of those situated to the eastward of Borneo, and are known in European literature under the ambiguous names of Haraforas and Alfoorees. Although frequently mentioned by such Spanish, Dutch, and English authors as have written on the more distant regions of the South Sea, our information respecting them is still extremely limited, and no vocabulary of their speech has been hitherto obtained. It may, at the same time, be suspected, that some of the ruder tribes, of whose dialects no specimens have been collected, such as the Dayaks and Idaan of Borneo, are in fact the same description of people with those to whom the term Alfoorees is elsewhere applied; and that, under a general designation, they are no other than the unconverted natives who have been driven into the mountains by the Malays, their Mohammedan persecutors, who seized the lowlands of their country, which they still possess. In person, complexion, and hair, they are said to resemble the fairer Polynesian race; having no physical peculiarities in common with the negrito tribes, however nearly they may approach them in their habits of life.*

The Haraforas and Alfoorees.

Their resemblance to the fairer Polynesians.

Having presented a sketch of the country and people to whom our attention is to be more particularly directed in the course of this volume, we shall now proceed to describe the condition in which they were found when first visited by Europeans.

* On the subjects treated in this chapter, the reader will find fuller information in the works of Forster, Marsden, and Lang, already cited, and also in Malte-Brun, vol. iii. p. 414-421. Reland's Dissertations, vol. iii. diss. xi. De Linguis Insularum Quarundam Orientalium. Crawfurd's History of the Indian Archipelago, vol. ii. p. 8-120. Archæologia, vols vi. viii. Dr Leyden "On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations," in Asiatic Researches, vol. x. Sir William Jones' Works. The History of Java, by Sir S. Raffles. Bruckner's Javanese Grammar. And above all, the volumes of the Missionaries, to whom Polynesian languages and antiquities have become a regular study.

CHAPTER II.

On the Condition in which the Inhabitants were found when first discovered by Europeans.

Simple State in which Natives were found—Account of their Habits and Usages—No Works of ancient Civilisation—Mythology and Traditions—Form of Government—Sanctity attached to Person of King—Accession of Son at Birth—Captives made Slaves—Various Classes—Inflated Language of the Court—Spirit of Government—Code of Laws—Its Connexion with Religion—Theological Notions—Traditions of the Deluge—Objects of Worship—Notions of a Future State—Immortality of Animals—Natives possess good Abilities—Physical Qualities—Colour—Strength—Marriage Ceremonies—Polygamy—Sorcery—Divination—Augury—Sufferings resulting from Superstition—Arcois.

CHAP. II.

THE natives of the South Sea Islands, those especially which fall under the denomination of the Eastern or Farther Polynesia, were found by the first discoverers in a state of great simplicity, and, as it might seem, in possession of more than the usual share of human happiness. The climate, it has been already stated, has all the charms which belong to the fairest scenes of poetical fancy. A mild sky sheds down upon the inhabitants the sweetest influences of the atmosphere; the earth yields to them at all seasons a plentiful supply of the necessaries of life, and even offers, at the expense of little labour, a great variety of luxuries. The scenery of the principal islands is described as delightful in the highest degree, consisting of the most beautiful alternations of hill and valley, and exhibiting the rare feature of mountains rising to the clouds covered almost to their

The climate of Polynesia.

summits with fine trees or flowering shrubs. There, the richest verdure is contrasted, on one side with precipitous rocks of a dark hue, and on the other with the ever-changing face of the vast ocean which dashes its long waves on the coral beach. Otaheite, in particular, appeared to the eyes of the first Europeans who landed on its shores as an earthly paradise, the abode of contentment and repose, the asylum of all those mild virtues which had fled from the disputes and rivalry of civilized nations.

Moral habits of the natives

But simplicity of manners, and even a gentle disposition, are not always accompanied with innocence. It was accordingly soon discovered that the vices incident to society every where else, were not unknown even in those primitive communities, among whom, it might be imagined, the more turbulent passions could find no excitement, and where the artificial wants of life would not as yet have roused either avarice or ambition. Like all savages they were much addicted to theft, which they seemed to consider in the light of an ingenious dexterity, rather than as a practice that any one could justly condemn. Influenced by a feeling similar to that which was made a part of education in ancient Sparta, they set more value on a thing they had succeeded in stealing, though of no utility, than upon a useful article if obtained as a gift, or in the ordinary process of barter. Their worst actions, too, like those of uneducated children, were perpetrated without any warning from conscience that they were doing wrong; and though, as in the case of infanticide, reflection on an atrocious deed might bring regret, it never created any compunction. The usages of their fathers stood in the place of a moral law; and whatever had been done in the old days, might, they concluded, be done again with perfect impunity. Their emotions, on all occasions, appear to have been quick, but exceedingly transient. A rebuke reached their hearts, chased away the smile from the countenance, and made them assume for a moment an attitude of the utmost seriousness; but, having no depth of re-

Their versatility of feeling.

CHAP. II. flection, they could not long suppress their merriment, nor preserve the decorum which they might feel due to the presence of their visitors. In them the moral sense was not fully formed; and, less advanced than the Greeks and Romans in the first age of the gospel, their judgments as to right and wrong were not so sufficiently distinct as to convey either excuse or accusation.

Their early condition.

Of this interesting people we have not the means of attaining a more minute acquaintance than may be acquired from examining their present condition. The antiquities of an illiterate tribe must be sought, not in modern records, which are exceedingly imperfect, but in their usages and the ruins of their ancient structures. With respect to the Society Islands, it has been observed by a late traveller that no monuments are found which might serve to indicate that they were ever inhabited by a race much farther advanced in civilisation than the natives who first became known to Davis, Wallis, Cook, and Bougainville. In Easter Island, no doubt, there are the remains of those gigantic busts which excited the surprise of the Dutch navigators; but these have now suffered so much either from the hand of time or the more violent attacks of the inhabitants, that their original shape can scarcely be determined. The early narratives represent them as being dispersed generally over the whole island; though when Cook touched there, the number was considerably reduced, and he himself saw only two or three standing near the landing-place. His companions, who travelled over the country, observed many more, some of them twenty-seven feet in height, and about nine in breadth across the shoulders, and each figure having on its head a large cylindrical block of a red colour, wrought perfectly round. They were made of a gray stone, apparently different from any belonging to the island; and the magnitude was such as rendered it extremely difficult to account for their erection, when viewed with a reference to the very limited mechanical powers at present possessed by the natives. Cook had no hesitation in main-

Their ancient monuments.

taining the opinion that they must have been formed by an older race of men, of whom no other record now remains; and this conclusion seemed to him confirmed by the fact, that their successors have neither skill nor industry enough to prevent them from falling into hopeless ruin. Besides these colossal statues, which were acknowledged to bear the marks of a remote antiquity, many little heaps of stones were seen piled up along the coast; and some of the savages also possessed human figures, carved with considerable neatness, composed of pieces of wood about two feet long.*

Their aboriginal character.

Confining our attention to the Society and Georgian Islands, we discover no evidence that they have ever been occupied by an older or more polished people than the present inhabitants. But there are many proofs that the race which we now find scattered among the several groups, between the meridian of New Zealand and the 130th degree of west longitude, must have been in ancient times much more numerous than they were when recently discovered by Europeans. In each green valley, in the recesses of the highest mountains, on the sides of the hills, and on the brow of almost every promontory, monuments of former generations are still seen in great abundance. Stone pavements of their dwellings and court-yards, foundations of houses, and ruins of family-temples, are of frequent occurrence. But as these relics are precisely similar to the instruments and edifices found among them when our ships first touched their shores, they merely establish the fact that the Polynesians were once a more powerful people than they have been since the middle of the last century.†

Their historical ballads.

They have amongst them, also, certain historical and mythological ballads, which are said to be well adapted to every order of society and every period of life. Such compositions, called *udes*, are recited by the children,

* An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXI.), p. 371.

† Ellis' Polynesian Researches (4 vols 12mo, Lond. 1831), vol. i. p. 102; vol. iii. p. 93.

CHAP. II

who are likewise taught to act them, for in some cases they have a pantomimic or dramatic character. At all events, they are highly figurative and impassioned; and what adds greatly to their value, while it proves their antiquity, is the fact that they contain many words which are no longer in use. Ignorant of chronology and the importance of dates, the authors pretend not to convey any knowledge of the past, or to preserve the slightest order in their narrative of the incidents on which they have fixed as the groundwork of their poems. So far as we can judge from the scanty specimens which the missionary press has supplied to the European reader, the descriptions refer chiefly to the ordinary occupations of their simple life, or to those more animating scenes which were from time to time connected with the ceremonies of their idolatrous worship. They had one song for the fisherman, another for the canoe-builder, a third for cutting down the tree, and one for the launching of the little vessel. The rites of their mythology were also wrapped up in a veil of poetical fiction; but as the strains employed on such occasions were equally mystical and obscure, they were discontinued as soon as the people renounced paganism.

Character of the ballads.

Influence of the ballads.

With all their imperfections, these traditionary songs possessed a species of authority, and were often appealed to for the purpose of determining any disputed point in their annals. It is added, that the fidelity of public recitals, viewed as the standard of historical truth, was not unfrequently questioned by the orators or chroniclers of two opposite parties; and the disputes which followed were carried on with great vehemence and pertinacity. As they had no written records to which either of the antiquaries could refer, they persevered in opposing one oral tradition to another, and thereby involved themselves in debates which could only be terminated by the fatigue of the speakers or the impatience of their audience. In most cases, however, a happy allusion to some verse in a popular poem set the matter at rest; and it is supposed that many facts of great antiquity

have been transmitted from one generation to another in the loose vehicle of national rhymes. CHAP II.

Political institutions. It might be inferred, perhaps, from the fixed and consolidated form of government which prevails throughout the islands of the South Sea, that their political institutions are not of recent origin. The king is invested with supreme power, which appears to descend in his family according to the rights of primogeniture, and may be inherited by sons or daughters. There was a queen in Otaheite, when it was discovered by Wallis, and Pomare the Second was succeeded by Aimata. In all respects, the sovereign authority was wont to be closely connected with the national religion; the idols and the monarch were understood to divide between them the fealty of mankind. The prince even, on certain occasions, represented the divinity, receiving the homage and listening to the entreaties uttered by the crowds of supplicants; and, at other times, he officiated as the high-priest, offering up their prayers and thanksgiving. As in similar states of society in ancient Europe, the regal and sacerdotal functions were commonly united in the same individual; the genealogy of the reigning house was piously traced back to the very origin of the tribe; and in some of the islands, the early sovereigns were supposed to have descended from the gods themselves. Hence, it almost necessarily followed that their persons should be esteemed sacred, and their rank as well as office regarded by the people with the utmost veneration.

Sacredness of kings. A singular inconvenience resulted from the feeling of sanctity now mentioned. Every thing in the least degree connected with the king or queen became also in some measure sacred, and could not be applied to any ordinary purpose. Not only the houses in which they dwelt, the canoes in which they sailed, but even the ground whereon they trode, and the syllables which composed their names, became so far holy that they could not be appropriated to any common use. On account of this peculiarity, the royal personages never

CHAP. II. entered any house that was not specially dedicated to their residence, nor walked on any piece of land not included in their hereditary possessions. To prevent the evils apprehended from the contact of either sovereign, these exalted individuals at no time appeared in public except on men's shoulders. They even performed their longest journeys in the same manner, proceeding at a pace of not less than six miles an hour, and changing their bearers at regular stages. In Owhyhee, whenever such chiefs as were supposed to be of divine extraction passed along the public way, the people prostrated themselves with their faces pressing on the ground. In Otaheite, on all occasions, when the king approached, his subjects, stripping down their upper garments, uncovered the body as low as the waist; a homage which was paid to no other except the gods, and to the places consecrated to their service. When passing these last, every individual, whether on foot or sailing in a canoe, removed whatever article of dress he wore on his shoulders and breast; and by this act he expressed the utmost respect to the deities of his country, to their altars, and to the spot where their presence was supposed to be more especially vouchsafed.

Homage paid to kings.

The reverence now described was required from all ranks, including even the father and mother of his majesty; indeed, they were generally the first to uncover themselves when his approach was announced. If by any accident the king appeared before the robe could be laid aside, it was instantly torn off, rent in pieces, and an atonement required. Had any individual hesitated to perform this ceremony, his life would have been exposed to the greatest danger; for to refuse this homage was considered not only as a proof of disaffection to the monarch, but as rebellion against the government, and impiety towards those invisible powers under whose protection both were placed.

The penalty of withholding that homage.

An allusion has just been made to the reverence usually paid to the King of Otaheite by his own parents; a circumstance which can only be explained by referring to a

singular usage connected with the law of primogeniture in that and some other of the surrounding islands. This was the abdication of the throne by the reigning sovereign as soon as his first son was born; and whatever might be his age, his influence in the state, or the aspect of political affairs, the moment the heir came into the world, he relapsed into a subject; the babe was proclaimed the master of the people; the royal name was conferred upon him; and the father was the first to acknowledge his supreme power by kissing his feet and pronouncing his title. A public herald was then despatched round the island with the flag of the infant monarch, which being unfurled at the proper places, the accession was duly proclaimed. If this emblem was allowed to pass, the chiefs were understood to concur in the expediency of the measure which it announced; but if the banner was insulted by them, or the bearer impeded in his progress, their conduct was regarded as an act of rebellion, or even as an open declaration of war.

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Singular law of abdication

Vancouver relates that he witnessed the ceremony of homage paid to Otoo, Pomare the Second, by his grandfather. A pig and a plaintain leaf were instantly procured, the old man stripped to the waist, and when the boy appeared in front of the marquee, the aged parent, whose limbs were tottering under the weight of years, met his grandson, and on his knees acknowledged his own inferiority by presenting this token of submission; which, so far as could be discovered, was offered with a mixture of profound respect and paternal regard. The ceremony seemed to have little effect on the young monarch, who appeared to notice the humble posture of his grandsire with the most perfect indifference. This mode of behaviour, the navigator remarks, is to be attributed to the force of education rather than to a want of the proper sentiments of affection.*

Homage to a king by his grandfather.

* Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World, performed in the years 1790-1795 (3 vols 4to, Lond. 1798), vol. i. p. 109.

CHAP. II.

It is deserving of notice, that, notwithstanding the relinquishment of sovereign power, every important affair, whether foreign or domestic, was transacted by the old king and those who had been formerly associated with him as his counsellors. But all edicts and official deeds were issued in the name and behalf of the royal child, for whom, in point of fact, his father directed the government in the capacity of regent. Nor was this singular principle of succession confined to the family of the monarch. It prevailed likewise among those orders which correspond to what in civilized countries we should call the nobility and gentry—the *arii* and the *raatiras*—and in both these classes the first-born son, immediately after his birth, received the honours, the titles, and possessions which had 'till that moment been enjoyed by his parent. There is no small difficulty in the attempt to discover the origin and design of a usage so singular; and unless we adopt the conjecture of one of the most learned among the missionaries, we shall certainly not arrive at any satisfactory conclusion. He supposes that it arose from a wish on the part of powerful families to secure to the next heir an undisputed succession to the dignity and power of his ancestors; and if this was the object of the practice at its original institution, no one can doubt that it was well adapted to realize its purpose. The youth was firmly fixed in his government or estates before his natural protectors had lost the power of asserting his rights to the inheritance.*

Government by regency.

Distinction of ranks.

In a state of society very little raised above barbarism, one is not prepared to find so minute a distinction of ranks as prevails in Polynesia, more especially among the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, whose government is said to be more despotic than that of any tribe on the southern side of the equator. This distribution

* Ellis' Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 101. It is added that the lands and other sources of the king's support were appropriated to the household establishment of the infant ruler; and the father rendered to him those demonstrations of inferiority which he himself was wont to require from the people.

of the people into certain orders, marked by distinct lines of separation, has been regarded as a proof of their descent from the Asiatic continent, where the institution of *caste* appears in all the solidity of an ancient system; for though the degrees which measure rank in the South Sea may not be so numerous as those in India, the approach from one grade to another is rendered hardly less difficult. The higher classes are described as being remarkably tenacious of their dignity, and exceedingly jealous of such contamination as might arise from a matrimonial union with their inferiors.

Three orders of society

Society in that part of the world seems to consist of three orders; the royal family and nobles; the proprietors of land who employ themselves in cultivating it; and, lastly, the common people. These orders, again, are subdivided according to their several gradations. The lowest class includes the servants and slaves; the latter being persons who may have lost their liberty in an unsuccessful battle, or who, in consequence of the downfal of the chieftain to whom they were attached, had become the dependents of another. This species of servitude appears to have existed among them from the most ancient times. Individuals taken in actual combat, or those who, when disabled in the field, had courted the protection of a great warrior, have always been considered the lawful slaves of him into whose hands they fell. In such cases, the women and children, sharing the fate of their vanquished kinsmen, become the property of the conqueror, or are transferred with the lands to his subordinate chiefs.

Captives and common people.

There is no reason to believe that the Polynesians ever carried on a traffic in slaves, though they retained over their captives the power of life and death, and might even offer them in sacrifice to their gods. If peace continued, the prisoner often regained his liberty after a short servitude, and was then allowed either to return to his own people or to remain a voluntary servant with his new master. This mild species of slavery, incident to a rude condition of society, has prevailed more or less

in all nations, whether in the east or west. Among the savages of North America, the enemies taken in war might either be adopted into the victorious tribe, to supply the loss sustained in a battle, or murdered under the most cruel torture, to satiate the revenge of the victors, or to appease the angry spirits of the slain.

Landowners

The second class, called the *bue raatira*, comprehending the great body of the landowners who are not noble, have at all times been regarded as the main strength of the country. They hold their property on a tenure quite independent of the royal pleasure, and, in many cases, can boast that it has descended to them through a long line of ancestors. Some of them in their habits and possessions bear a certain resemblance to the old yeomen of England; dressing their own fields, improving their own plantations, building their own houses, and paying without a grudge their stated dues to the crown. The owners of more extensive estates constitute the real aristocracy of the country, and enjoy no small influence in its government. They are, generally speaking, regular, temperate, and industrious in their manner of life, and are found, on most occasions, to impose a restraint on the hasty measures of the king, who, without their aid, could not carry any important matters. As their means are ample, the number of their retainers is great in proportion; and hence the weight which they exercise in public affairs during peace as well as in war.

Kings and nobles.

The highest class, or the *hui arii*, includes the sovereign, the immediate members of his family, and even all who are related to him in the most distant degree. This section of the inhabitants, though not numerous, enjoy great consideration; and their dignity is protected with much jealousy, not only by themselves, but by the people at large, who have been taught to regard their own honour as identified with the purity of the reigning house. Perhaps, also, this feeling may be partly ascribed to the very obvious policy of limiting within the narrowest bounds the number of individuals whose privileges, as a sacred order, might be felt incon-

venient. But the arii, we are assured, are not less desirous to maintain unchallenged the grounds of their high distinction, and to hand it down uncontaminated to their offspring. With this view, whenever a matrimonial connexion takes place between one of them and an individual of inferior rank, the children are destroyed. CHAP. II.

Though the king succeeds to his office at the hour of his birth, a period is fixed for his inauguration. This ceremony takes place when he assumes the government in his own person, and is usually celebrated with much rude magnificence, not unmixed with the rites of a cruel idolatry. The details are given at considerable length by the missionaries; but to a reader unaccustomed to the mystical language and grotesque forms of the pageant, these are necessarily in a great measure unintelligible. The substance of this state solemnity consists in investing the sovereign with the *maro*, or girdle of red feathers, which at once raises him to the highest earthly station, and gives him a place among the celestial progenitors of his race. Vancouver relates that a change of language, to some extent, was introduced whenever a young ruler obtained the belt of royalty; applying as well to the names of the chiefs as to forty or fifty of the most common words. As might be expected, the new terms produced a very material difference in those family-tables of affinity preserved among the higher class, and which are said to be constructed with great attention. Later writers make no mention of this innovation in style, whence we may conclude, that it was confined to the island in which he witnessed it, or that he did not fully comprehend the information he received. He adds, indeed, that the perplexities connected with the narrative were materially increased by the difficulty of obtaining the truth from men who have a constant desire to avoid giving offence even in the slightest degree.*

Inauguration of kings

Change of language at inaugurations.

Such were the exalted notions entertained of regal authority at the court of Otaheite; and the phraseology

* Vancouver, vol. i. p. 135. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 112.

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Bombastic adulation of kings.

of the people with regard to the reception of the red girdle was not less elevated. The adulation addressed to the prince, and the inflated terms in which his greatness was described, were not less pompous than those used in the presence of a Chinese emperor or a Turkish sultan. Not only was it declared that Oro, the god of war, was the father of the king, but his houses were called the clouds of heaven, his canoe was denominated the rainbow, his voice was thunder, the torches in his palace were styled lightning, and his movement from one district to another, though on the shoulders of a porter, was expressed by the metaphor of flying through the air. But the majesty of Polynesian thrones is not in all respects consistent; for the same potentate who at one time appears decked with the most splendid of royal insignia, surrounded by priests and venerated as a god, is at another time seen stooping to the most ordinary occupations, and holding equal converse with the lowest of his domestics.

Provision for the royal table.

The household was maintained by the produce of the hereditary lands, and also by certain supplies exigible from the principal proprietors of the soil. The former being seldom found sufficient for the wants of the palace, application appears to have been regularly made to the raatiras, who, without submitting to any fixed rule, held themselves bound to comply with the demands of the king's steward at his periodical visits. The provisions thus granted were not unfrequently cooked and ready for the royal table; cloth was also presented for dresses to the servants; and, on some occasions, these aids extended to canoes, and even to houses, when his majesty happened to visit parts of his dominions where he had no convenient residence.*

Although in theory the government of the Georgian and Society Islands might be pronounced despotic, in

* Every reader must observe the resemblance between these usages and the purveyance and maintenance at one time common in England.

practice it was found to admit a large portion of popular influence, as exercised by the owners of land, the natural representatives of an agricultural people. The king had usually near his person one confidential chief, who, officiating as prime minister, advised him in all matters of importance; but this high functionary, unlike those in more regular constitutions, was not responsible to any class of persons for the counsel he might happen to give. So great, however, was the authority of the raatiras, that no decision involving the momentous question of peace or war, was ever adopted without their concurrence. The national assemblies were commonly held in the open air, and the utmost freedom of speech was allowed to every one whose rank entitled him to a place and a voice in their deliberations. Orators appeared on each side in all cases where the matter under consideration admitted of debate; and the king himself usually took a part in the discussion, urging his own views without any reserve. The speakers, on most occasions, possessed greater control over their reason than over their passions; and it was not uncommon to see a difference of opinion, after being pressed in angry words, followed by scenes of fury and bloodshed. If it was resolved to go to war, each chieftain retired to his own district, summoned his retainers, put arms into their hands, and prepared to lead them forth to join the banner of the sovereign.

Royal advisers.

Whenever a measure was adopted which concerned the great body of the inhabitants, a messenger was despatched throughout the island, who, after the manner of the ancient Celts, carried in his hand an emblematical proclamation, to which every loyal subject was ready to give obedience. Instead of the fiery cross, the royal envoy in the Georgian Islands displayed a bunch of twigs bearing their green leaves; and when he entered the lands of a chief, he repaired instantly to his house, presented a single leaf, and forthwith delivered the orders of the king. If the token was accepted, the raatira was understood to express his compliance with the injunction

Royal envoy

CHAP. II. thereby conveyed to him; but if he declined to receive it, his opposition to the policy of the government in this particular case was held to be distinctly manifested. To refuse, indeed, or to return the proffered leaf, was in general deemed equivalent to an act of rebellion; and if the monarch found himself sufficiently strong, the refractory vassal was not long allowed to pass without due punishment.*

Administration of justice.

In a state of society so simple, it will not appear surprising that there was no regular code of laws, nor any courts of justice; and hence, except in offences against the supreme authorities, the rulers were seldom called upon to interpose the exercise of power. Personal security and the rights of property were enforced no farther than the influence of the chiefs could be exerted in behalf of their respective dependents; and those who had little hope of succeeding by an appeal to arms, were content to adopt the alternative of submitting to whatever wrongs or loss might be inflicted on them. Among the lower class, retaliation for theft or personal violence usually superseded every other rule of jurisprudence; a principle which was so generally recognised, that the offenders seldom resisted, knowing that the claims of the injured party would be supported by the great body of the people throughout the district. In no respect were their actions and practice less regular than in crimes against chastity; for while lewdness was hardly regarded as offensive to good manners, adultery was sometimes punished with death. So lax on other occasions were their sentiments on this head, that when a husband adopted a *taio* or friend, his wife was understood to be their common property; while those in the higher rank who practised polygamy, saw nothing wrong when their ladies attached themselves to other men, if duly recommended.

Laws respecting chastity.

The sanction of law in the South Sea, as elsewhere, rested chiefly on the authority of religion; and there

* Ellis, vol. iii. p. 122.

cannot be any doubt that the sacrifice of victims to the gods when supposed to be offended, was a powerful engine in the possession of government. When the priest announced that the wrath of heaven required an atonement, the king, whose duty it was to watch over the safety of his land, gave orders for the selection of a proper person; and it being observed by the people that individuals who had shown any marked disaffection towards the state were commonly chosen, they were more careful to render an unhesitating obedience to the will of the sovereign. It is related by one of the missionaries, that when a victim was required, the monarch despatched to the chiefs of the various districts certain messengers, who, upon entering their dwellings, were wont to ask whether they had a *broken calabash* at hand or a *rotten cocoa-nut*. These or similar terms were invariably used and well understood when such applications were made. It generally happened that some one of the chiefs had an individual on his grounds whom he was not unwilling to devote to the horrid purpose in view. When, therefore, the request was announced, he notified by a motion of the hand or movement of the eye the person whom he wished to be taken. The only weapon with which the assassins were armed was a small stone concealed in the fist; and one of them striking the doomed man a stunning blow on the back of the head, the others rushed in and completed the murder. The body was then carried, amidst songs and shouts of savage triumph, to the marai, where it was offered to the gods. This inhuman practice was rendered still more dreadful by a circumstance, which, probably intended to prevent revenge on the part of the survivors, occasioned the utmost wretchedness and alarm. As soon as one of a family was selected as an offering to the vindictive spirit of their imaginary divinities, all the other males belonging to it considered themselves as devoted. It availed them nothing to remove to another island, for the reason of their migration was soon made known; and whenever a sacrifice was needed, it was sought among the unfortunate

Offering of human sacrifices.

The male relatives of a victim.

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refugees. The missionary, on whose authority we relate these facts, had in his own household a domestic, all of whose brothers had been immolated on the altar, and he himself had been eight times hunted with dogs in the neighbouring mountains; but, being an extraordinary runner, as well as ingenious in devising resources, he contrived to elude his pursuers until the inhabitants of his island embraced the gospel, and no longer looked to such oblations.*

The practice of taboo.

The practice of taboo, in like manner, placed a vast influence in the hands of the ruler. A universal interdict was constantly at his command; and whether in matters of finance, provisions, or any other branch of national economy, he had the minds and bodies of his subjects entirely under his control. The introduction of Christianity has indeed effected an extensive and most beneficial change in the political opinions, the manners, and belief of the natives; but before we enter upon those interesting points, we shall briefly notice some opinions and usages which prevailed among the Eastern Polynesians at the time when they were first visited by navigators from Europe.

Imaginary affinity to the gods.

On all the inquiries which respect the origin of the human race and the nature of the gods, their impressions were extremely vague, ridiculous, and in many cases inconsistent. They traced their own existence to progenitors, who, though they had sprung from a divine source, were led by inclination or necessity to fix their abode upon earth, with whom, even after they were removed by death, they continued to hold some mysterious connexion. Hence their forefathers and their divinities being in many cases identified, the same forms of adoration were directed to both. But as the imagination of a savage does not long remain satisfied with ideal forms, the inhabitants of all the Polynesian groups were found to have adopted the usual expedient of supplying themselves with an object on which they might fix their

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 555.

eyes, when engaged in the various ceremonies of their rude worship. The idols, we are told, were different in every island, there being no one type or symbol which had secured the approval of the general mind.

In some cases there is reason to believe that their notions have received a certain colouring from an occasional intercourse with Europeans. For example, in Otaheite it is mentioned as a tradition received from their fathers that the first human pair owed their existence to the god Taaroa, who, after he had formed the world, created man out of red earth. It is added that this deity one day caused the man to fall asleep, and, while he lay in a state of insensibility took out one of his bones, of which he made a woman, whom he gave to him as his wife. Some of the islanders maintain that the name of the female was Ivi, which would by them be pronounced Evé. The native term literally signifies a bone; but figuratively it is also applied to a widow and to a victim slain in war. It is justly remarked, that, should a stricter inquiry confirm the truth of this statement, more especially with regard to the antiquity of the opinion, it will afford one of the most remarkable oral traditions yet known relative to the origin of the human race.*

Tradition respecting the first man.

The traces of primeval belief which prevail among the people of the South Sea, will be found to lend great probability to the conclusion, that the nations whence they originally emigrated must have been acquainted with some of the leading facts contained in the Mosaical history. Other of their tenets appear to bear a great resemblance to the more striking features of Hindoo cosmogony. The account of the creation given in the Institutes of Menu accords in no small degree with the Polynesian legends as to the production of the visible world by the power of their god. The Brahmins say, that he having willed to produce various beings from his own divine

Analogies to Hindooism.

* Polynesian Researches, vol. i. p. 110. Mr Ellis, who collected with great care the floating notions of the people, is disposed to think that *Ivi* or Eve is the only aboriginal part of the story, as far as it respects the mother of the human race.

CHAP. II. substance, first, with a thought, created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed. That seed became an egg bright as gold, blazing like the luminary with a thousand beams, and in that egg he was himself born, in the form of Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits. The waters were called *nara*, because they were the production of *narau*, the Spirit of God; and since they were his first place of motion, he is thence named *Narayana*. A rude version of this legend is still preserved in the Sandwich Islands, where the mythologist continues to teach that the terrestrial frame was produced by a bird, an emblem of the deity. This divine creature laid an egg upon the waters, which, afterwards bursting of itself, gave an origin to the concave firmament and the convex earth, subsequently removed from each other by the agency of Ruu, one of the most powerful of the divinities. Hence the holy mountain Me-ru, the abode of the Hindoo gods, is also the paradise of some of the South Sea Islanders, the dwelling-place of their departed kings, and of their most distinguished benefactors. Varuna and Valmi, who have a niche in the Brahminical pantheon, are also found with a slight alteration among the natives of the Pacific. Varua and Vaiti equally denote a spiritual existence; and both these terms are still in use, on either side of the equator, as part of the religious vocabulary of the copper-coloured tribes.*

Tradition respecting the creation.

Traditions respecting the deluge.

It is not a little interesting to find that traditions of the Deluge have existed from the earliest period among the natives of Polynesia. They narrate that in ancient times Taaroa, their principal deity, being angry with men on account of their wickedness, overturned the earth into the sea, all of which sunk in the waves, except a few projecting points, forming the various clusters of their islands. The memorial preserved by the inhabitants of Eimeo records that, after the inundation of the

* The resemblance between the Polynesians and Hindoos is in some respects so striking as to lead to the remark of Bishop Heber, that many things which he saw among the inhabitants of India reminded him of the plates in COOK'S Voyages.

world, when the waters subsided, a man landed from a canoe, and erected an altar or marai in honour of his god. CHAP II.

Tahitian tradition of the deluge.

The most circumstantial account of this remarkable event, supplied by Mr Orsmond, is translated as follows: "Destroyed was Otaheite by the sea; no man, nor dog, nor fowl remained. The groves of trees and the stones were carried away by the wind. They were destroyed, and the deep was over the land. But these two persons, the husband and the wife (when it came in), he took up his young pig, she took up her young chickens; he took up the young dog, and she the young kitten. They were going forth, and looking at Orofena (the highest hill in the island), the husband said, up both of us to yonder mountain high. The wife replied, no, let us not go thither. The husband said, it is a high rock and will not be reached by the sea; but the wife replied, reached it will be by the sea yonder: let us ascend Opitohito, round as a breast; it will not be reached by the sea. They two arrived there. Orofena was overwhelmed by the waves: Opitohito alone remained and was their abode. There they watched ten nights; the sea ebbed, and they saw the two little heads of the mountains in their elevation. When the waters retired, the land remained without produce, without man, and the fish were putrid in the holes of the rocks. The earth remained, but the shrubs were destroyed. They descended and gazed with astonishment: there were no houses, nor cocoa-nuts, nor palm-trees, nor bread-fruit, nor grass; all was destroyed by the sea. They two dwelt together; and the woman brought forth two children, a son and a daughter. In those days covered was the land with food; and from two persons the earth was repeopled."*

Raiatean tradition of it.

The natives of Raiatea ascribe the safety of the surviving couple to the miraculous circumstance that the island of Toamarama, on which they, instructed by the god Ruahatoo to take refuge, resisted the approach of the

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 387.

CHAP. II. water, though it rose every where around to the height of several thousand feet. Their belief in the Deluge, though accompanied with some difficulties of a physical nature, remains unshaken; and, in support of it, they allude to the coral, shells, and other marine substances occasionally found near the surface on the tops of their highest mountains. These, they maintain, could neither have been carried thither by the inhabitants, nor have originally existed in the situations in which they are now seen, but must have been deposited by the waters of the ocean when the islands were inundated.

Ellis's remarks on these traditions.

Without any more special reference to geology, we are certain that no one will question the soundness of the observation with which the author of the Polynesian Researches concludes his narrative. "The memorial of a universal deluge existing in those communities by which civilisation, literature, science, and the arts have been carried to the highest perfection, as well as among the most untutored and barbarous, preserved through all the migrations and vicissitudes of the human family, from the remote antiquity of its occurrence to the present time, is a most decisive evidence of the truth of revelation. The brief yet satisfactory testimony to this event, preserved in the oral traditions of a people secluded for ages from other parts of the world, furnishes strong additional evidence that the Scripture record is irrefragable. In several respects the Polynesian account resembles not only the Mosaic, but those preserved by the earliest families of the postdiluvian world, and supports the presumption that their religious system has descended from the Arkite idolatry, the basis of the mythology of the Gentile nations.

Comparison with Asiatic traditions.

The sleep of Ruahatoo accords with the slumber of Bramah, which was the occasion of the crime that brought on the Hindoo deluge. The warning to flee and the means of safety resemble a tradition recorded by Kœmpfer as existing among the Chinese. The canoe of the Polynesian Noah has its counterpart in the traditions of their antipodes the Druids, whose memorial states the bursting of the lake

llion, the overwhelming of the face of all lands, and the drowning of all mankind, excepting two individuals who escaped in a naked vessel (one without sails), by whom the island of Britain was repeopled. The safety which the progenitors of the human race are said to have found in caves, or the summits of the mountains, when the waters overflowed the land, bears a resemblance to the Hawaiian legend; and that of Mexico, in which Coxcox, or Tezpi, and his wife are represented as having been preserved in a bark, corresponds with the Otaheitan tradition. Other points of resemblance between the Polynesian account and the memorial of the Deluge circulated among the ancient nations might be cited; but these are sufficient to show the agreement in the testimony to the same event, held by the most distant tribes of the human race."*

Comparison with Mexican traditions.

After the manner of most primitive nations, these simple reasoners ascribe the origin of all things, even of their divinities, to night or darkness. Taaroa himself, who is sometimes represented as uncreated, or as having existed from the beginning, has his era also measured by a reference to the period when he emerged from the gloom of chaos, and assumed the office of a demiurgus. But whatever may have been the foundation of their mythology, the Polynesians were taught to see their gods in clouds, and hear them in the winds. The spell of enchantment was thrown over every scene, whether by sea or by land. They conceived themselves surrounded by intelligences wherever they contemplated the active powers of nature; and in the rising sun, the mild light of the moon, the shooting-star, the flame of

The homes of the Polynesian gods.

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 394. On the subject of religion, Captain Cook remarks, that "they reproach many who bear the name of Christian. You see no instance of them drawing near the Atua with carelessness and inattention. The supplicant is all devotion: he approaches the place of worship with reverential awe; uncovers when he treads on sacred ground; and prays with a fervour that would do honour to a better profession. He firmly credits the traditions of his ancestors. None dares dispute the existence of the Deity."

CHAP. II. the meteor, the roar of the ocean, or the blast of the tempest, they realized the presence of mighty spirits. Amusement itself was not altogether separated from feelings of gratitude or adoration. In his games, the Otaheitan acknowledged the authority of an invisible superintendent; every art had its patron, to whom the working-man lifted up his thoughts; and the professor who healed wounds or cured diseases, solicited the aid of Tama and Oitili, who united in their character the functions of the Grecian Esculapius.

The general name of the Polynesian gods.

We learn from the missionaries that *atua*, which, as well as *varua*, signifies spirit, is the general name by which the objects of worship are designated in Eastern Islands. The first *a* appears to be a component part of the word, though in many sentences it is omitted, in consequence of the preceding word terminating in a vowel. Though little light is thereby thrown on the origin of the people, it is interesting to trace the correspondence between the *tangata*, first man in Polynesia, and the *tangatanga*, a principal deity among the South Americans; between the *tua* of the South Sea, the *tev* of the Mexicans, the *deviyo* of the Singalese, and the *deva* of the Sanscrit.*

The various objects of Polynesian worship.

The objects which claimed the worship of the natives in the Society Islands, appear to have been their deified ancestors, idols, and *etus*. These last, indeed, were common to other groups, and consisted generally of some reptile, bird, or fish, in which it was believed that a spirit resided. It was by no means uncommon to see a chief muttering a prayer to a fly, an ant, or a lizard; and when any such animal was accidentally killed, a deep sorrow was expressed by those who had courted its favour or dreaded its power to punish. An especial reverence was shown towards a species of woodpecker, which was accustomed to frequent the trees growing in the precincts of the temples. Hence, this bird was considered sacred, and allowed to feed on the sacrifices; or

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* Ellis, vol. i. p. 334.

rather, the god to whom the victim had been offered was understood to approach, in that form, to acknowledge the piety of his votaries. The cry which it uttered, too, was regarded as a response made to the prayers of the priest, who alone could understand its import.

Honoured souls of dead relatives.

As to the souls of such of their dead relations as had been honoured for their services upon earth, they imagined that they had their abode in the world of night, where they occupied a station intermediate between gods and the human race. Though, in their addresses to them, they did not hesitate to ascribe divine attributes, they nevertheless abstained from such worship except on very particular occasions. It is said that no prayer was ever made to those *oromatuas* except by wizards and sorcerers, who implored their aid for the destruction of an enemy, or to enable them to inflict injury on some individual whom they were hired to assail. The natives were greatly afraid of these human demons; and it was to avoid the evils which they were supposed to have the power of sending, that gifts were so profusely presented at their altars. Nor is it surprising that they should have been regarded with such emotions, because the chief oromatuas were the spirits of departed warriors, who had distinguished themselves by ferocity and murder, not less than by their patriotism. Each was honoured with an image, through which his influence was understood to be exerted; and their skulls, in some cases, preserved along with the idol, were honoured with the same tokens of religious respect.*

The forms of idols.

The idols were either unpolished logs of wood, wrapped in numerous folds of sacred cloth, or rudely carved images, braided with leaves and ornamented with feathers. Into these shrines the god was believed to enter at certain seasons, or in answer to the special invocation of the priest. During this indwelling, the

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 338. Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 549.

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image was held to be very powerful; but when the supernatural presence was withdrawn, its efficacy for good or for evil no longer existed. This distinction was every where acknowledged both by those who made and by those who venerated the mystic symbols. The former declared their entire conviction, that the virtue in the idol arose, not from the alteration made by their tools on the trunk of a tree, but from its being placed in the temple, and filled with the spirit of the atua.

Sanguinary acts of worship.

It is well known that, besides offerings of various kinds of food, cloth, canoes, and other property, human victims were sacrificed in great numbers, more particularly on the breaking out of a war, when the countenance of Oro, the Mars of the Pacific, was to be gained, at whatever expense of blood and suffering. Like the heathens of old, too, they were wont to inflict upon themselves the most painful mutilations. Even the worshippers of Baal, who cut themselves with knives till the blood gushed out upon them, did not carry self-torture to a greater extent than the devotee at Otaheite and Tongataboo. It was customary, during the performance of some of their rites, to knock out their front teeth, and to deprive themselves of portions of their fingers; insomuch that, according to indisputable accounts, it was hardly possible to meet a full-grown person who had not submitted to some such operation.

Dedication of infants.

Many mothers used to dedicate their children to one of the deities, but principally to Hiro, the god of thieves, or to Oro, the god of war. If to the former of these, the parent, before the birth of her babe, went to the temple with the suitable offerings; when the priest, performing the ceremony, called "catching the spirit of the god," infused a portion of it into the unconscious child, that it might become a clever and desperate stealer. The greater number, however, were desirous that their boys should become renowned warriors; and to secure this object of ambition, many ceremonies were performed before the infants saw the light, who, soon after they were born, were taken to the marai, and

formally dedicated to the god of arms. The spirit of the sanguinary deity was said to be "caught," and imparted to the suckling as before; and the ceremony was concluded by offerings, sacrifices, and prayers. At New Zealand, stones were thrust down the throats of the little boys, to give them firm hearts, and render them fearless combatants. CHAP. II.

It is remarkable that the practice of human sacrifice did not prevail at the Navigators' Islands, though, in those a little farther east, it was felt as one of the greatest scourges to which savage life is ever exposed. When, for example, an invading enemy had desecrated a marai or temple, no fewer than seven victims were required to effect the purification, to restore the holy place to its wonted sanctity, and to reconcile the offended god to his former dwelling. Diversity in the practice of human sacrifice.

With notions so gross in regard to the objects of their worship, it was not to be expected that the ideas of the Polynesians, on a future state, could be either pure or exalted. Entertaining the general belief of an hereafter, they could hardly fail to conclude that there must also be reward and punishment; but being strangers to all intellectual joy, they fixed their hopes on a paradise whose flowers never fade, and amidst which the favoured spirits, enjoying perpetual youth, spend their days in boundless festivity and merriment. This was their heaven; and the pains of hell were believed to arise from a distant view of that happiness, which tortured the condemned sinner with vehement desires never to be gratified and never to cease.

In order to secure the admission of a soul into future happiness, the corpse was dressed in the best manner the relatives could afford, the head being wreathed with flowers and other decorations, according to the profession or character of the departed. A pig was then baked whole and placed on the body, surrounded with a suitable quantity of vegetables. "Go, my friend," says the chief mourner, "when you were alive I treated you with kindness, and when you were ill I did my best to Ceremonies for the dead.

CHAP. II. restore you to health; and now you are dead, there is your last gift. Go then, and with that gain an entrance into the palace of Tiki, and do not come to this world again to disturb and alarm us."

Horrible obsequies of the Feejeans. The Fijee Islanders present much more costly sacrifices, in order to obtain repose or solace in the regions beyond the tomb. There the chiefs, according to their rank, have from twenty to thirty wives; and when one of these great men dies, the body is laid in state under the open sky, in the presence of a vast number of spectators. The principal lady, after being adorned in the most sumptuous manner, walks forth and takes her seat near the deceased, where she is immediately strangled, by means of a rope passed round her neck and pulled with the utmost violence. This process is continued until four of the females have been put to death; after which they are all buried in the same grave with their husband, to cheer his passage into the invisible world, and to serve him in that distant land with their wonted zeal and submissiveness.

First effects of Christian instruction. In the first stage of their conversion, and before the veil was entirely removed from their faces, when reading the Scriptures, they took a great interest in the ceremonies of the Mosaical Law, as bearing some resemblance to the usages to which they themselves had been accustomed. On this ground they were naturally led to inquire whether their contrition would not be more acceptable unto God, were they to rend their garments and cover their heads with ashes, than by uttering a simple expression of sorrow for their offences. They frequently adverted, also, to the history of our first parents, wishing to be informed whether, after their fall and expulsion from paradise, they had, through a sincere repentance, obtained forgiveness. Upon being told it was probable they had received pardon, and were now in heaven, one of them inquired how Adam's offence could possibly affect his posterity, after the guilt contracted by it had been removed even from the perpetrators of the crime. With the curiosity

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of children, they asked, whether the devil would have tempted Eve, and thereby brought sin into the world, if God had not forbidden the fruit of the tree of knowledge. On another occasion, one of them expressed a desire to learn what caused the angels in heaven to sin or Satan to become a wicked spirit. He was told that pride was the cause of his fall, but that revelation was silent as to the origin of the undutiful emotion which first prompted disobedience in the heart of the rebellious demon.

Retort on the missionaries.

In the course of his teaching, a missionary had to sustain the following retort, which is much after the form of those arguments that every mother hears from the mouths of her children at a certain age. "You say God is a holy and a powerful being, and that the devil is the cause of a vast increase of moral evil in the world, by exciting or disposing men to sin. If, then, Satan be only a dependent creature, and the cause of so much evil, which is displeasing in the eye of the Almighty, why does he not kill him at once, and thereby prevent all the wickedness and suffering of which he is the author?"

The duration of sufferings inflicted on the wicked in the future state was occasionally introduced; and the poor natives asked, with great earnestness, if none of their ancestors, or the former inhabitants of the islands, had gone to heaven? To this question the missionaries could not possibly give a satisfactory reply; and we allude to these inquiries, on the part of their catechumens, merely because they afford a proof of reflection, and also of such a degree of acuteness as must, when properly directed, lead to the most happy results. Their depth of thought is farther manifested by their reasoning respecting the resurrection of the body. Of another world, and the existence of the soul in a separate state after the dissolution of the earthly frame, they appear to have at all times entertained a certain obscure belief; but the reanimation of the mouldering dust never seems to have occurred to them as a thing either likely or desirable.

Reasonings respecting the resurrection.

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There were, besides, points of difficulty in the doctrine peculiar to themselves. Many of their relatives or countrymen had been devoured by sharks, which, in their turn, were also caught and eaten by other men, who might afterwards be devoured by similar voracious fishes. Cannibalism, again, is known to have been practised in some islands, and to have prevailed universally in others; and it cannot be considered improbable, that many of their kindred have been eaten, after being taken in war, or cast ashore by shipwreck. Upon stating these facts, of which unfortunately there is no room for doubt, they have asked whether, admitting all the processes of new combination involved in their statement, the original parts of every human body will be reunited at the resurrection.

Prevalence of cannibalism

In some of the islands the natives are found to reason on the principles of an absolute fatalism. All suffering, whether in this world or the next, is referred to the determination of a fixed destiny, altogether irrespective of character or conduct. The judicial functions of their deities were not understood to extend to virtue and vice in the ordinary acceptation of the terms; the only sins which they visited with their displeasure being neglect of some ceremony, or refusal to present an appointed offering.

Opinions respecting hogs and plants.

There has not been observed among them any trace of the metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, although they believed that hogs have in them a spark of immortality, and that there is a distinct place whither their spirits repair at death. The same doctrine was extended to plants and flowers, which were imagined to possess not only a sensitive principle, but a soul in the proper meaning of the term. Generally speaking, their metaphysical researches were not profound; but the more inquisitive amongst them not unfrequently entered into discussions respecting the source of the intellectual energies in man, and the seat of the affections. They denied that the brain is, in any degree, the spring or instrument of thought. On the contrary, when speaking

of mental exercises or moral sentiments, they invariably employed terms, the import of which is best expressed by the word "bowels" as it is used in the sacred writings. It is admitted that in some instances the original phrase might be translated "heart;" and on this ground, their mode of speaking would approach more nearly to our own idiom, as, when we say, the thoughts, or the desires, or the imaginations of the heart. For soul and spirit, as we have seen, they have distinct terms; but it does not appear that they considered either of these as sharing in the emotions, whether physical or moral, which occasionally agitate the body. In short, to the head they attributed nothing in connexion with intellect, nor to the heart with respect to sentiment. To the latter organ, separately considered, they ascribed no susceptibilities beyond those which are common to the bodily frame at large. Hence they contended that the seat of thought and sensation was in the abdominal viscera generally, and neither in the heart nor in the brain; and in proof of the soundness of their opinion, they referred to the agitations produced in the internal parts by desire, fear, joy, surprise, and all strong affections of the mind.

Theory of the intellect.

It is remarked by Mr Ellis that, though the mental capacity of the inhabitants of Eastern Polynesia has been but very partially developed, they possess good abilities. They are extremely curious and inquisitive; and, compared with those of the western islands, they may be said to display considerable ingenuity and mechanical invention. Unacquainted as they were with the use of letters, it need not be observed that their intellectual powers had not been improved by any regular culture; but the principles of their civil polity, the observances of their complicated ritual, the legends of their gods, the historical songs of their bards, the beautiful and impassioned eloquence sometimes displayed in their national assemblies, and, above all, the copiousness, variety, and precision of their language, together with their knowledge of numbers, warrant the conclusion

Ingenuity and inventiveness.

CHAP. II. already stated, that their minds are not destitute of natural vigour.

Physical characteristics.

In respect of physical attributes, the Polynesians, as a race, are not inferior to Europeans. Generally speaking, they are taller and more athletic. The countenance is open and prepossessing, though the features are in some instances rather prominent. The form of the face is either round or oval, seldom exhibiting any resemblance to the angular shape of the Tartar visage, while the profile bears a striking similarity to that of the European. Their hair is a shining black or dark-brown colour; not lank and wiry like that of the Indian, nor, except in a few instances, woolly, after the manner of the negro in Australia or the Papuan Islands. In point of stature, there is a considerable difference between the men and women. The latter, taken in mass, are stronger and taller than English females, and are also distinguished by a fulness of figure, sometimes approaching to corpulency. The prevailing colour in both sexes is olive, bronze, or reddish-brown, presenting occasionally a kind of medium between the yellow of the Malay and the red of the native American. But it is by no means uniform even among the people of the same island; and the diversity, as might be expected, is still much greater among the inhabitants of the several groups. The red or brown in the countenance is more or less dark, without being at all mixed with black; and, in certain districts, the complexion is not very different from that which prevails in the southern nations of Europe.*

Lightness of complexion in infancy.

The children at their birth are not much darker than infants in this part of the world; and the skin only assumes the bronze hue as they grow up under constant exposure to the sun. Those parts of the body which are covered, even with their slight clothing, are much fairer, at every period of life, than such as are necessarily exposed to the weather; and it is noticed by one of the most distinguished of the missionaries, that, notwithstanding the

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 83.

dark tint with which the climate appears to dye the skin, the ruddy bloom of health and vigour, or the sudden blush, is often seen mantling the youthful countenance under the light-brown tinge which, like a thin veil, but partially conceals its glow. Hence the natives, supposing the white colour of the European to be the effect of illness, beheld it with pity ; an impression that has long since given way to experience, which has completely dissolved the fancied connexion.*

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Spiritedness and activity

We are informed by the same author, that although remarkably strong men are found among the Polynesians, they are in general more distinguished by activity than by muscular power. They engage in various kinds of work with great spirit, but soon tire. When a boat manned with English seamen and a canoe with natives happened to start from the shore, the latter instantly left the Europeans behind ; but, becoming fatigued, they gradually relaxed their exertions, while the sailors, pulling without intermission, speedily overtook them, and usually reached their destination first. But they are, nevertheless, capable of great endurance. One of them has been known to travel in the course of a day thirty or forty miles, over mountain and ravine, without taking any other refreshment than a little juice from a sugar-cane. The facility with which they perform such journeys is, no doubt, the result of habit, as they are accustomed to climb the rocky precipices even from their childhood.

Duration of life.

Nor does it appear that the duration of life among them is under the usual limits, being about seventy years and upwards. Nay, it is probable that the rural population must present many instances of great longevity ; for their simple diet, the absence of all stimulants, their habit of early rising, and, more especially, an entire freedom from irritating cares, are extremely favourable to health and length of days.

The early visiters to Otaheite were very favourably impressed with the appearance, manners, and cleanliness

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 81.

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of the inhabitants. In their motions they observed both vigour and ease; their walk was graceful, their deportment liberal, and their behaviour to strangers and to each other affable and courteous. In their dispositions they appeared to be brave, open, and candid, without suspicion or treachery, cruelty or revenge. Captain Cook mentions that the natives, both men and women, constantly wash their whole bodies in running water three times every day; once as soon as they rise in the morning, once at noon, and again before they sleep at night, whether the sea or river be near them or at a distance. They wash, not only the mouth but the hands at their meals, almost between every morsel; and their clothes as well as their persons are kept without spot or stain.*

Dispositions and social manners.

Marriage usages.

As one of the ceremonies connected with their natural condition, we must not fail to mention the mode in which they contracted and solemnized the obligations of marriage. In the South Sea Islands, as in all warm

* The impression made on the first missionaries was not less advantageous to the simple children of nature; and in regard to the females, they condescend to inform us that "those who carefully clothe themselves and avoid the sunbeams, are but a shade or two darker than a European brunette; their eyes are black and sparkling; their teeth white and even; their skin soft and delicate; their limbs finely turned; their hair jetty perfumed, and ornamented with flowers; they are in general large and wide over the shoulders; we were therefore disappointed in the judgment we had formed from the report of preceding travellers; and though here and there was to be seen a young person who might be esteemed comely, we saw few who, in fact, could be called beauties; yet they possess eminent feminine graces; their faces are never darkened with a scowl, or covered with a cloud of sullenness or suspicion. Their manners are affable and engaging; their step easy, firm, and graceful; their behaviour free and unguarded; always boundless in generosity to each other and to strangers; their tempers mild, gentle, and unaffected; slow to take offence, easily pacified, and seldom retaining resentment or revenge, whatever provocation they may have received. Their arms and hands are very delicately formed; and though they go barefoot, their feet are not coarse and spreading."—*Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the Years* 1796, 1797, 1798, *in the Ship Duff* (4to, Lond. 1799), pp. 336, 337.

countries, the matrimonial union takes place at an early age; but among the chiefs, and other persons of rank, a betrothment was usually ratified when the future husband and wife were still in their childhood. The parties themselves were not sufficiently advanced in life to form any judgment of their own; yet we are assured that, on arriving at maturity, they rarely objected to the engagements which their friends had made on their behalf. Among the lower class, where family connexions and a suitable establishment had little weight in the considerations which determined the propriety of a match, the young persons were less restricted in their choice. In such cases the contract, being founded on affection or mutual respect, was confirmed with a greater appearance of free agency.

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Betrothment.

When the time fixed for the marriage arrived, great preparations were made for the dances, games, and other festive entertainments usual on such occasions. A company of strolling players generally attended, and on the day preceding the nuptials, their exhibitions were seen to commence. Next morning, an altar was erected in the house of the bride's parents, on which were placed the relics of her ancestors, including sometimes their skulls and larger bones, together with such presents as her relatives had thought proper to send. As the sanction of the gods was deemed essential to the validity of the contract about to be recognised, the ceremony was always performed in a place of worship. On entering the temple, the bride and bridegroom changed their clothes, and put on their wedding garments, which were ever afterwards considered sacred. The priest, arrayed in his official robes, turning to the man, said, "wilt thou not cast away thy wife?" To this question he answered, no; and upon receiving a similar assurance from the bride, the minister, addressing them both, pronounced these words: "if it be thus with you, happy shall ye be." He then offered a prayer to the gods in their behalf, entreating that they might live in affection, and realize all the happiness which marriage was

The marriage ceremony.

CHAP. II. designed to secure. On some occasions the female relatives, cutting their faces with a sharp instrument, received the blood on a piece of cloth, which they deposited at the feet of the bride; a ceremony which was meant to denote, that any inferiority of rank that might have existed between the parties was thereby removed. The two families also to which they respectively belonged were ever afterwards regarded as one; the mixing of their blood being esteemed an emblem of their union.*

Character of wives.

Of the wives, we are assured by the best writers, that in general they are affectionate, tender, and obedient to their husbands, and uncommonly fond of their children; nursing them with the utmost care, and being particularly attentive to keep their limbs supple and straight. A cripple is hardly ever seen among them in early life; any such defect, indeed, would reflect the highest discredit on the mother. They construct not, it is true, any partitions in their houses; but it is asserted that they have, in many instances, more refined ideas of decency than ourselves, and never, in their domestic intercourse, give any cause of offence to modesty or decorum. It is recorded that polygamy was practised to a great extent by the people of Otaheite. Many of the inferior chiefs, or raatiras, it is admitted, had two or three wives, who appeared to receive from them an equal degree of respect and the same portion of maintenance. But among the higher class of their simple aristocracy it was different; for, although they might keep a number of females, it was rather a system of concubinage than a plurality of wives which prevailed amongst them. The individual to whom the chief was first united in marriage, or whose rank was nearest his own, was considered as his wife,

Polygamy.

* Mr Ellis (Polynesian Researches), vol. i. p. 273, remarks that, notwithstanding all this ceremony, the marriage tie was probably one of the weakest which existed among them; neither party feeling themselves bound to abide by it longer than it suited their inclinations and convenience.

and so long as she lived with him the other females were regarded as inferior to her.*

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There are in the volumes of the missionaries, from whom our most satisfactory information is derived, many interesting notices illustrative of the opinions formerly prevailing in the South Sea on the subject of sorcery and divination. Though the details are, in many cases, ludicrous and even disgusting, they all manifest a belief in the power of supernatural beings, and in the subjection of matter to the dominion of mind, whether benevolent or destructive. The means used to ascertain the will of the gods, and to avert the effects of their anger, bear no small resemblance to those employed by the ancient Greeks and Romans for the same purpose; and hence the classical scholar, while he may regret the absence of the pleasing mythology with which the latter are associated, will acknowledge that the gross rites of Otaheite may be traced to the same source with the more elegant adoration which was offered to the deities of Delphi and Eleusis. Both flowed from the same fountain,—the consciousness that man cannot direct his own steps through the journey of life, nor determine the circumstances in which it shall be finally closed.

Sorcery and divination.

But the operations of that principle were not confined to the defence or welfare of the individual who had recourse to them: they were more frequently employed with the view of doing injury to others. The persons who devoted themselves to sorcery as a profession, readily lent their aid to the vindictive passions of those by whom they were employed; and it is certain that either by

Designs of these.

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 274. Rienzi, Océanie, ou Cinquième Partie du Monde, Revue Geographique et Ethnographique de la Malaisie; de la Micronesie, de la Polynesie, et de la Malanesie (3 tomes, Paris, 1836), tome deuxieme, p. 316. In the chapter entitled "Des Femmes en général," M. De Rienzi has stated some things on the subject of marriage among the Polynesians, which must not be taken too literally. The narratives of the English missionaries do not authorize the belief that their notions of female honour were quite so relaxed as the French writer, trusting to other sources of information, has represented them.

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means of poison secretly administered, or by the influence of terror on the imagination, they could produce the most horrible effects. The incantations usually commenced with a curse, pronounced by the priest or by the offended individual himself, in the name of certain gods; and, from the vengeance thereby imprecated, no hope of escape could be entertained, except by securing the interposition of some more powerful demon. We are informed, however, that the simple mysteries of prayer and offerings were not held sufficient to accomplish the object of the wizard, whether for assault or protection. Like the Circes and Medeas of ancient times, the minister of Polynesian superstition required some outward means whereby he might reach either the body or the mind of the person against whom his art was to be practised. As a vehicle by which the tormenting spirit might enter, he demanded parings of the nails, a lock of the hair, saliva from the mouth, or else a portion of the food which the doomed victim was to eat. This was called the *tubu;* and over it were performed, in the temple of the oromatua, those diabolical rites which were deemed essential to the potency of the charm. During this process the evil spirit was supposed to enter into the tubu, and, through it, into the individual whose life was menaced. If it was a portion of food, it was placed in his basket; and, if eaten, a sudden death seldom failed to ensue. The most acute agonies and terrific distortions of body were in many cases experienced; the wretched sufferer appeared in a state of frantic madness, torn, as was imagined, by a malignant fury, under whose dreadful power he writhed and foamed.

The rites of sorcery.

The use of poison by sorcerers.

There is little doubt but that poison was the chief instrument employed in all those private murders, though it was, in general, so cautiously administered that the hand of the assassin could not be detected. The following instance, recorded in the Polynesian Researches, affords an illustration of this atrocious practice which cannot be mistaken, because the youth of the victim precluded the influence of any merely mental impression.

One of the missionaries happened to send two native boys, his servants, from Eimeo to Otaheite for arum-roots. The man under whose care it was growing was a sorcerer; but being from home, the lads, according to the directions they had received, went to the field and procured the roots for which they had been sent. Before they departed, the person who had charge of the field returned, and was so enraged that he pronounced the most dreadful imprecations upon one or both of them. They set off for Eimeo, but apparently took no notice of the threatening. One of them was shortly afterwards taken ill; and the malediction of the sorcerer being made known to his friends, it was immediately concluded that the poor child was possessed by an evil spirit. Alarming symptoms rapidly increased, and some of the missionaries went to see him. On entering the place where he lay, a most appalling spectacle was presented; the unfortunate patient was lying on the ground, writhing in anguish, his eyes apparently ready to start from his head, and his limbs agitated with violent convulsions. The relations standing around were filled with horror at the sight of torments which they could neither mitigate nor remove; and the sufferer soon afterwards expired in the most frightful agonies.*

Instance of poisoning

It is a singular circumstance, that, while this abominable practice continued among the natives, the sorcerers invariably acknowledged that their devices were harmless when employed against Europeans; alleging that these last were under the keeping of a Being much more powerful than any spirit which their incantations could evoke. But the safety of the white men arose from their limited intercourse with the heathen priesthood, who, there is no doubt, aided their spells by means of most subtile poisons conveyed in food or liquids. Indeed some of the sorcerers, since their conversion to Christianity, have confessed their guilt in this respect; admitting that the deaths which had been attributed to their supernatural agency, were occasioned by destructive mixtures.

Confessions of sorcerers.

* Ellis, vol. i. p. 366.

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Modes of divination.

The forms of augury among the Otaheitans will remind every reader of the ceremonies practised for learning the will of the gods in Greece and Rome. Divination was pursued in a variety of modes, by all of which it was imagined that future events might be made known to those whose interests induced them to look into the perspective of coming time. Much of it was connected with the sacrifices they offered, more especially the appearances of the animal in the agonies of death, or immediately after life was extinguished. In the muscular action of the fibres, the colour of the blood, or the condition of the viscera, the priest could behold the success of armies, the fall of a dynasty, or the conquest of an island. In another particular the similarity between the sacerdotal craft of ancient Europe and that of the South Sea is equally conspicuous. The god was supposed to enter the individual who ministered at his altar; who, inflated as it were with the divinity, ceased to act as a voluntary agent, but moved and spoke as if entirely under the influence of supernatural power. No sooner, however, had he uttered the response of the oracle than the paroxysm began to subside, and composure ensued; though, in some cases, the excitement continued several days, during which all his words and actions were considered as the fruit of direct inspiration.

Fraternity of Areois.

Our account of the state in which the Polynesians were found by the early navigators would be incomplete did we fail to add a few remarks on a fraternity, known in some of the islands under the name of Areois. So far as their practices throw any light on the object of their institution, they may be said to combine the characteristics of gipsies, strolling players, and knights-errant. Though their actions are neither pure nor generous, they claim a heavenly origin; maintaining that their society was founded by two brothers of Oro, the god of war, who, learning that he was in the habit of paying stolen visits to a lady in the valley of Berabora, descended to the earth to watch his proceedings, or to congratulate him on his happiness. In return for this

attention, he authorized them to establish a community, who should possess certain privileges, and be restricted to special rules. Among these last was an injunction that they should live in celibacy, and have no descendants; hence, though they did not positively prohibit marriage, the modern areois consider themselves bound to murder their children. In some respects, indeed, they bear a resemblance to the priests of Cebele and Bacchus, who, while they freely indulged their inordinate desires, were not allowed to encumber themselves with the inconvenience of progeny.

Celibacy of the Areois.

A late visiter has described them as "legion-fiends of the voluptuous haunts of Belial," who rove from one island to another, at home every where, and every where welcomed on account of the merriment they carry with them. They are also obsequiously reverenced for the terror they inspire, when they have occasion to extort property from those who dare not withhold it, whether they sue or whether they threaten. They consist generally of the cleverest and most handsome persons of both sexes, though the proportion of men to women is at least as five to one. Before the restraints of Christianity were acknowledged among the natives, whenever a company of areois, after one of their brief voyages, landed upon a shore where they meant to make some stay, their first business was to present at the marai a small sucking-pig as a thank-offering to the god for having conducted them thither in safety. But this sacrifice was understood to intimate more than a simple feeling of gratitude; it signified also to the people among whom they had come that they wanted food. This rite, therefore, was usually followed by what was emphatically called a "feeding;" when fifty or sixty hogs, perhaps, and fruit in proportion, were presented to them, together with rolls of cloth, and every other thing necessary for their personal accommodation.

The rite called "a feeding."

The public entertainments, purchased at this high price, consisted chiefly in dramatic scenes, composed with little skill, or in the recital of legendary tales con-

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Dramatic exhibitions.

cerning the gods and their own ancestors. Many of these pieces were so regularly constructed as to be capable of verbal repetition from time to time; while others were accompanied with such illustrations as the fancy of the performer might enable him to introduce on the spur of the occasion. Their leader was placed, cross-legged, on a stool seven feet high, with a fan in his hand, in the midst of admiring auditors, whom he delighted with his drollery, or charmed with his wit. He introduced the recitation with a sort of prologue, when, after exhibiting some fantastic attitudes, the whole party began their song in a low voice and measured cadence, which, increasing in intensity as they proceeded, became at length exceedingly loud and rapid. When quite exhausted by the violence of their exertions, they discontinued the performance, until revived strength and a fresh audience encouraged them to a renewal of their follies.

Official costume.

On such occasions their dress was not less remarkable than their acting and music; their bodies being painted with charcoal, and their faces stained with a scarlet dye. Sometimes they used a belt of yellow leaves, which resembled closely the feather-girdles of the Peruvians and other American tribes. At other times they wore a vest formed of the ripe plantain, and ornamented their heads with the most brilliant foliage that could be procured. It is remarked by Mr Ellis, that in their performances the priests and other public persons were ridiculed without mercy, and that allusion was frequently made to passing events, to a royal marriage, or the incidents of a war. But dancing appears to have been a favourite and more frequent entertainment than the farce or burletta; and they often kept it up during the greater part of the night, accompanied by their voices, the flute, and the drum. Spacious houses, highly decorated, were erected in most of the islands for their accommodation.

Different orders.

The areois were divided into several classes, each of which was distinguished by the tattooing on their bodies. The highest order was called *avae parai*, painted leg, the leg being completely blackened from the toe to the

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knee; and the inferior grades received a corresponding appellation from the place or pattern of this species of adornment. The seventh class, whose persons were more or less disfigured with paint and carving, was denominated *poo faarearea*, or pleasure-making, because from it were selected the dancers and chief pantomimists. But, in addition to the seven regular classes, there were numerous individuals of both sexes who attached themselves to this dissipated fraternity, preparing their food and dresses, and performing other menial duties. Nor was this institution confined to any particular rank in society: it was composed of individuals belonging to every order of the inhabitants. In all cases, however, the admission was attended with a variety of ceremonies, and followed by a protracted noviciate; there being superior distinctions which could not be attained until after a laborious attention to the mysteries and rites of the brotherhood.

Protracted noviciate.

It was believed by the mass of the people, that such as became areois were prompted by the direct inspiration of the gods. When, therefore, any individual wished to be admitted to their society, he repaired to one of their public exhibitions in a state of apparent derangement, and arrayed in a fanciful dress. After a considerable trial of his docility and talents, if he persevered in the desire to be inaugurated, the ceremony took place in circumstances not dissimilar to those which used to accompany the introduction of a novice into the secrets of freemasonry. Their elevation to the several orders of their craft, too, proceeded on like grounds. After the gods were solicited to sanction the advancement, the candidates were taken to the temple, where their foreheads were solemnly anointed with fragrant oil. The sacred pig, wrapped in a consecrated cloth, was next put into the hand of each individual, and formally offered to the divinity; after which they were declared to be areois of the order to which they had respectively aspired. If the pig, thus presented, was killed, it was buried in the sanctuary; but if kept alive, its ears were ornamented

Ceremony of initiation.

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with a tassel composed of the fibre of the cocoa-nut. It was then liberated, and being regarded as sacred, on account of its being offered to a god, it was allowed to feed where it pleased until it died a natural death.

Dissipated mode of life.

Perhaps it was owing in no small degree to the solemnity now described, as well as to the legend which respects the origin of their institution, that the areois passed their lives, esteemed by the people as a superior order of beings, closely allied to the gods, and deriving from them a license to perpetrate the various enormities which disgraced their whole body. Free from labour and care they roved from island to island, supported by the chiefs, or feasting on the plunder taken from the grounds of the poor husbandmen. Such, too, was the system of delusion connected with their superstition, that for them was reserved that Elysium which their mythology taught them to believe was provided in a future state of existence, for persons so distinguished by the favour of heaven.

Decay of the system.

It is gratifying to add, that an institution which so long exerted a baneful influence over the minds of an ignorant indolent people, has already lost much of its authority and many of its adherents. The purer morality of the gospel has put to shame their abominable practices; while the taste of the simple natives, already greatly refined by the more exalted nature of the pursuits to which they are now invited, begins to contemn the paltry amusements afforded by the areois, and to abhor the immoral principles on which they were founded. We are assured that some of those who were ringleaders in all the vice and cruelty connected with the system, are at present distinguished for their active benevolence and exemplary lives. One of the first deacons of the church at Huahine, and who, as a missionary to his heathen brethren, has proved an indefatigable, upright, intelligent man, was once the principal areoi in the island of Raiatea.

CHAPTER III.

On the Means employed for Improving the Inhabitants of the South Sea Islands, and more especially the Introduction of Christianity.

Motives to Discovery—Exertions of Missionaries—Savage Life never spontaneously improved—Proceedings of Lieutenant Bligh at Otaheite—The Failure of Spanish Priests—Origin of Missionary Society—Sailing of the Duff—Landing of Missionaries—Different Views as to the Means of civilizing Barbarians—South America and Africa—First Efforts at Otaheite fruitless—Remarks of Kotzebue—Similar Opinions adopted by the Literary Journals—Benefits conferred by Means of Christian Missions—Abolition of Infanticide and human Sacrifices—Difficulties to be encountered—Brighter Prospects opened—Remark on the Qualifications of a Missionary.

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Maritime discovery.

CONSIDERING the benevolent spirit which usually animates the British public, it was not probable that discoveries so interesting as those which had crowned the efforts of Wallis, Byron, Carteret, and Cook, would be long allowed to remain unproductive of advantage to the inhabitants of the remote lands thereby brought to light. It was indeed the main object of the successive voyages that did so much honour to the reign of George the Third, to increase and to diffuse knowledge, not only at home, but more especially among rude tribes in the most distant parts of the earth, who, it was hoped, might by such means be rescued from ignorance and superstition, and be made fit to share all the blessings of civilized existence. On former occasions, the patrons of navigation had allowed themselves to be in no small degree influ-

CHAP. III. enced by the prospect of acquiring vast treasures, of descrying new countries where their power might be established, or of improving commerce, whereby private wealth would be augmented, and the national resources enlarged.

Columbus. Such motives were at one time avowed in all the nations of Europe. The exertions of Columbus, for example, were stimulated not less by the love of glory than by the hope of adding to the magnificence of the monarchs who had countenanced his adventure. The path to India round the eastern Cape was discovered under the action of a similar impulse; and even when the English first touched the shores of North America, they thought not of the natives, whose condition might have excited their pity, but of the mines of gold with which they believed that the mountains every where abounded. In proportion as the mercantile spirit gained strength, the objects of the traveller and navigator became less pure; and it was not till a period comparatively recent that the labours of the discoverer, whether by sea or land, were sanctified by the loftier aim of promoting science, or extending the benefits of religion.

At an earlier period, and when as yet the desire to bring the heathen within the pale of salvation was recognised as the most sacred and the most powerful of all inducements that could lead men to act or to suffer, much toil was endured, and many dangers were braved by christian missionaries, who thought it not too much to travel on foot through savage countries, with the precepts of the gospel in their hands, and its warm benevolence in their hearts. No one can read, without admiration for his zeal and self-denial, the labours of Francis Xavier, who journeyed into far countries, and encountered all the perils incident to an unprotected residence among the fiercest barbarians, that he might convey the knowledge of the cross to the remotest provinces of India. Inspired by a generous love for mankind, and encouraged by the predictions of the Divine Author of his faith, the true Christian has at all times endeavoured to extend

Francis Xavier.

the influence of its humanizing doctrines and exalted hopes to all the ends of the earth. The command of the Redeemer to propagate his religion was, in the first instance, cheerfully obeyed by the apostles, who, in defiance of the opposition that was marshalled against them, bore the message of truth and good-will into all the nations known in their days to the Greek or the Roman; and as the world became enlarged by new discoveries, their successors carried the same comfortable tidings far beyond the ancient boundaries of geographical science, into those regions where the sun was supposed to rise and set.

The propagation of the gospel.

Nor is there any reason to believe that the authority of Christ, though continually increasing, has yet approached near to its utmost limits. On the contrary, the present state of the world affords a strong presumption, independently of the numerous predictions contained in the Bible, that the gospel will become the universal religion of mankind. Several christian states have for ages been sending forth large and flourishing colonies into every quarter of the globe: Mohammedans and heathens are not doing the same. Believers, wherever they can find admission, labour to make proselytes, whereas the adherents of other religions are either indifferent about their creeds, or proudly refuse to communicate the superior advantages which they suppose themselves to enjoy. Hence it becomes every year more and more manifest, that the kingdom of the Messiah, by the increase of its own subjects, and by the gradual accession of strangers, will, at no distant period, overspread the whole earth.

The middle ages of Europe.

When the dark ages fell upon Europe, the views of the faithful were narrowed, and their exertions paralysed. The apostolical example ceased to produce its wonted effect upon their minds; and yielding to the pressure of invasion which rolled down upon them from the North, the more civilized states deemed it enough to protect the archives of Christianity and the works of its greatest authors, in the sacred retreats of monastic life. All in-

CHAP. III tercourse with distant countries was rendered impracticable by the barbarism which every where prevailed beyond the immediate vicinity of the two capitals of the East and West. In such circumstances, nothing could be effected by the most ardent spirit of charity or of secular enterprise. But no sooner did a way appear to be opened up beyond the limits of the empire, than the christian missionary resumed his holy office, and held himself prepared to follow either the track of the caravan through the Arabian desert, or the march of armies towards the confines of Upper Asia. The Crusades, again, more worthy of praise in their object than for the means adopted by those in whose zeal they had their origin, secured likewise a channel for the propagation of the true faith; and, though the peaceful lessons of the New Testament could not be harmoniously associated with such projects of conquest and revenge as carried too many of the soldiers of the cross into Palestine, an opportunity was afforded for renewing a communication with the interesting tribes between the Mediterranean and the Euphrates, to whom the blessings of Christianity were first offered. From that period down to the present day, endeavours, more or less wise, have been made to extend the knowledge of revealed truth to heathen lands; and the men of our own age, not less active than their predecessors, have witnessed results more gratifying perhaps than any which have crowned the labours of the church since the close of the third century.

The crusades.

Missionary spirit of Christianity.

The religion of Christ, whether viewed in its origin or early history, makes a claim upon all who profess faith in it, for an active dissemination of its light and hopes. Its first missionaries were instructed to go forth into all the world; and the name of apostles conferred upon them in the inspired writings, denoted at once the nature of their labours, and the delegated authority confided to them by their Divine Master. Most of those qualified to teach, obeyed the solemn injunction communicated to his personal disciples; and many others, who might not have opened their hearts to such motives, accomplished

the same beneficent object, when scattered abroad by the violence of persecution. CHAP. III.

In the nature of things, it seems impossible, with respect to savage countries, that idolatry can be removed, or civilisation introduced, by any other means than the actual arrival of strangers who profess the true religion, and by the continued experience of the benefits which arise from cultivating the arts. The prophet Jeremiah, in the old time, put the question, "hath any nation changed their gods, which yet are no gods?" and the fact involved in this expostulation is confirmed by the experience of mankind in all the forms which society has ever been found to assume, and in all parts of the world hitherto laid open to the inspection of the philosopher or the divine. No tribe has ever yet been known to raise itself from barbarism into knowledge and refinement; the savage has never by his innate powers, emerged from his narrow views and gross habits, so as to originate institutions analogous to those of an instructed people; the child of nature has not, in either hemisphere of our globe, spontaneously "changed his gods," however contemptible, nor elevated his thoughts to the adoration of Him who is a spirit, and who must be worshipped in spirit and in truth.* Dependence of civilization on Christianity.

It was once an established opinion among a certain class of philosophers that the original condition of man, as he came from the hand of his Maker, differed not materially from the state in which the Hottentots and Patagonians were found by the early discoverers; and that, in the course of ages, he had accomplished a painful passage upwards to civilisation, through the successive stages of pastoral and agricultural life. No hypothesis is less fortified than this by observation and historical research; for there is not on record one instance of a people, in any portion of the earth, having, by their own exertions, thrown off the habits of the barbarian, A hypothesis contrary to this.

* See Jeremiah, chap. ii. ver. 11, and St John's Gospel, chap. iv. ver. 24.

CHAP. III. and engaged in the pursuits of liberal art or philosophical investigation. Hence arises a motive to the benevolent mind, even abstractedly from all considerations of religious duty, to visit with the light of knowledge the numerous tribes who are still involved in the grossest darkness, and subject to all the evils which befall man when unaided by social institutions.*

Humanizing effects of the gospel.

Viewed under this aspect, the annals of our race will present at once a command and an encouragement to exertion. In allusion to the humanizing effects of the gospel, a distinguished author wrote as follows with respect to our own country at an early age :—" Even over the wild people inhabiting a country as savage as themselves, the Sun of Righteousness arose with healing under his wings. Good men, on whom the name of saint (while not used in a superstitious sense) was justly bestowed, to whom life and the pleasures of the world were as nothing so they could call souls to Christianity, undertook and succeeded in the perilous task of enlightening these savages. Religion, although it did not at first change the manners of nations waxed old in barbarism, failed not to introduce those institutions on which rest the dignity and happiness of social life. The law of marriage was established among them, and all the brutalizing evils of polygamy gave place to the consequences of a union which tends most directly to separate the human from the brute species. The abolition of idolatrous ceremonies took away many brutalizing practices; and the gospel, like the grain of mustard-seed, grew and flourished, in noiseless increase, insinuating into men's hearts the blessings inseparable from its influence."† It is manifest, in short, that man must be

Moralizing effects of it.

* The opinions here alluded to will be found developed with great ingenuity by the celebrated Lord Kames, in his "History of Man." An able Answer, written by the late Dr Doig of Stirling, was published anonymously, which is understood to have shaken the faith of the learned judge in his own conclusions.

† History of Scotland, by Sir Walter Scott (Lond. 1830), vol. i. p. 8.

roused by a foreign influence from his dream of slothful superstition; and in the traditional history of all nations, accordingly, mention is made of a period when some benevolent or powerful stranger arrived, bringing with him the knowledge of letters or a warlike force, by means of which he changed the customs of their fathers. The Greeks have their Cadmus, to whom they attribute the gift of literature. Other tribes refer to Hercules the origin of refinement; and in all may be traced the avatar of some heavenly mind, which taught the barbarian to think and to improve his taste. CHAP. III.

In general the savage has been exterminated rather than improved. The white man who coveted his land or his game, has driven the native of the wilderness and the forest from his accustomed haunts; offering to the wild spirits, who had never known a master, the fearful alternative of submission or death. But in the islands of the great Pacific, we are permitted to contemplate a more agreeable scene. The purpose which carried the European thither was neither conquest nor mineral treasure, nor even the more legitimate prospect of commerce, which enriches while it improves the simple cultivator of the soil. Of our own countrymen more especially it may be asserted, that the motive which induced them to renew an intercourse with the inhabitants of the Society Islands, was a desire to ameliorate their condition, by conveying to their shores knowledge, virtue, and religion. Effects of colonization.

The first expedition thither may indeed appear to have originated in more selfish feelings, as the benefit expected from it had a reference to ourselves rather than to them. About seventeen years after Captain Cook returned from his first voyage, certain merchants and planters interested in the West Indies, represented to his majesty, that the introduction of the bread-fruit-tree into those colonies might prove of the greatest advantage. The king, entering into their views, gave directions that a ship suitable for the important purpose should be forthwith prepared; and the charge of superintending the First expedition to the Pacific.

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arrangements being committed to Sir Joseph Banks, nothing was left undone which seemed necessary to secure ultimate success. We now allude to the Bounty, commanded by Lieutenant Bligh, whose name is so closely connected with the unhappy mutiny which ensued; the sufferings of that portion of the crew who remained faithful to him; with the melancholy fate of several of the officers; and the occupation of Pitcairn Island by some of the deserters. At the close of 1787, this vessel sailed from Portsmouth, and on the 25th October, in the following year, arrived at Otaheite. The chief ruler of the district, named Otoo, immediately on hearing that an English ship had entered his port, sent a pig and a young plantain tree as a token of friendship. The sailors also were plentifully supplied with provisions. Indeed, the commander relates, that the longer he and his people remained on the island, the more they had occasion to be pleased with the conduct of the inhabitants. In every house they entered, they experienced a kind reception from the simple inmates, who, we are told, had the most perfect easiness of manner, equally free from forwardness and formality, displaying a sincerity and candour which were quite delightful. When, for instance, refreshments were presented, if they were not accepted, they did not think of offering them a second time, not having the least idea of that ceremonious kind of refusal which expects a renewed or more earnest invitation. On one occasion the Bounty had nearly gone on shore in a tremendous gale of wind, and on a similar occurrence did actually get aground; after both which accidents the kind-hearted people crowded round the captain to congratulate him on her escape, being affected in the most lively manner while the danger lasted.

Voyage of the Bounty.

Her reception at Tahiti.

Mr Bligh alludes to a singular custom in the burial of the dead, which, if not borrowed from European navigators, cannot fail to suggest important reflections. On the 9th December 1788, the surgeon died from the combined effects of intemperance and indolence. The lieutenant obtained permission to inter him on shore;

and on going with the chief, now named Tinah, to the spot selected for the solemn duty, he found the natives had already begun to dig the grave. "Tinah asked if they were doing it right; there," said he, "the sun rises and there it sets." Whether the idea of making the grave east and west is their own, or whether they had learned it from the Spaniards, who buried the captain of their ship on the island in 1774, there were no means of ascertaining; but it was clearly made out that they received no intimation to that effect from any one on board the Bounty. When the funeral took place, the chiefs and several of the natives attended the ceremony, and showed much seriousness during the service. Many of the principal inhabitants presented themselves at divine worship on Sundays, and behaved with great decency. Some of the women at one time betrayed an inclination to laugh at the general responses; but a single look of disapprobation was sufficient to revive their gravity and decorum.*

Funeral of her surgeon.

After a stay of six months at Otaheite Mr Bligh made preparations to depart, having on board all the plants supplied by the sovereign of the island, "being in seven hundred and seventy-four pots, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes." The number of bread-fruit plants were one thousand and fifteen; besides which they had collected others: the *avee*, which is one of the finest-flavoured fruits in the world; the *ayyah*, which is a fruit not so rich but of a fine flavour and very refreshing; the *rattah*, not much unlike a chestnut, which grows on a large tree in great quantities; and the *orai-ab*, which is a very superior kind of plantain. "For twenty-three weeks," he observes, "we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, and which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events which followed

Her cargo of live plants.

* Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H. M. S. Bounty; its Cause and Consequences (12mo, Lond. 1831), pp. 55, 56.

CHAP. III. more than sufficiently prove; for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition that there was every reason to hope would have been completed in the most fortunate manner." The catastrophe here alluded to will invite the attention of the reader in a subsequent part of this volume.

Spanish visit to Tahiti.

At an earlier period than that now under our consideration, the principal islands in the Georgian group were visited by certain Spanish ships, sent from Peru to make discoveries in the Pacific. In 1772, two natives of Otaheite consented to accompany the navigators to America, where they were baptized; and the second season afterwards they were allowed to return home attended by two missionaries belonging to the Church of Rome. For the accommodation of these visitors a wooden house was erected near the shore in Oheitepeha Bay. But the Spaniards wished to gratify their love of dominion as well as to extend the empire of the true faith. Before the ships departed the commander called a meeting of the chiefs who had taken the priests under their protection, described to them the grandeur of his sovereign, and informed them of his right to all their islands. The natives, it is added, manifested much complaisance, and by acclamation acknowledged the King of Spain owner of Otaheite, as well as of the whole cluster of which it is the most important member. Whereupon he informed them that if they preserved their fidelity and fulfilled their promises, they should be frequently visited by his ships. In 1775, they made sail for Peru, carrying again two of the inhabitants with them; and after the lapse of ten months the missionaries themselves embraced an opportunity of returning to European society in the government of Lima. When Captain Cook, in 1777, paid a visit to Taiarapoo, he saw the dwelling which they had abandoned. It consisted of two rooms; loop-holes were cut all around, which seemed to serve the double purpose of admitting air and promoting defence. A wooden cross with suitable inscriptions denoted that christian ministers

Spanish dominion in Tahiti.

had favoured the island with their presence; that the gospel in their persons had gained a triumph over idolatry; and that their monarch, Charles the Third, continued to exercise his power on all the shores washed by the Pacific. At their departure they left the more valuable boon of hogs and goats, which added a little variety to the simple fare of the inhabitants; but no evidence remains that the priests ever held a free intercourse with those whom they had intended to convert, or produced any lasting impression either on their belief or their morals.*

Scanty traces of that dominion.

Captain Cook maintains that the Spaniards did not succeed in making one convert. It does not appear, he adds, that they ever attempted it; for, if the natives are to be believed, they never conversed with them on the subject of religion or any other. Before they went away they gave an assurance to Otoo that they meant to return, and to bring with them houses, all kinds of animals, as well as numerous men and women, who were to settle in the island. The unsuspecting monarch seemed pleased with the idea of such an accession to his subjects; "little thinking," says the navigator, "that the completion of it would at once deprive him of his kingdom, and the people of their liberties. This shows with what facility a settlement might be made at Otaheite; which, grateful as I am for repeated good offices, I hope will never happen. Our occasional visits may in some respects have benefited its inhabitants; but a permanent establishment amongst them, conducted as most European establishments amongst Indians have unfortunately been, would, I fear, give them just cause to lament that

Cook's opinion respecting Tahiti.

* Burney's Chronological History of the Voyages and Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean (5 vols 4to, Lond. 1803-1817), vol. iv. p. 570. Captain Cook (Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 75) mentions that "the hogs are of a large kind; have greatly improved the breed originally found by us upon the island; and at the time of our arrival were very numerous. Goats are also in tolerable plenty, there being hardly a chief of any note who has not got some."

CHAP. III. our ships had ever found them out. Indeed, it is very unlikely that any measure of this kind should ever be seriously thought of, as it can neither serve the purposes of public ambition nor of private avarice; and without such inducements I may pronounce that it will never be undertaken."*

We have made this quotation from the work of the great navigator, on account of the remark contained in the last sentence;—that without the stimulants of public ambition or private gain, no establishment would ever be attempted among the islanders of the South Sea. The accounts received in England of an interesting people living in a secluded situation in that remote part of the world, gave birth in due time to a sentiment more powerful than either ambition or avarice, the desire, namely, to extend to them the blessings of religion and moral improvement. So early as the year 1791, when Captain Bligh made a second voyage in a ship called the Providence, he was accompanied by several individuals who undertook to discharge the office of missionaries. But, owing to a defect in the zeal or qualifications of these persons, their labours were unattended with success: and it was not till four years later that a plan, constructed on better principles, was confided to men whose minds were more fitly attuned to the spirit of the important enterprise in which they engaged.

Sentiments in England respecting the South Sea.

That pious, though rather eccentric person, Selina, countess of Huntingdon, contributed not a little to the generous efforts, which marked the close of the eighteenth century, in favour of the gentle savages of the Pacific, whose manners had fascinated the rough seamen by whom they were successively visited. Actuated by a strong desire that a knowledge of the christian religion should be conveyed to them, she is said on her death-bed to have exacted from a clergyman, who had co-operated with her in other schemes of benevolence, a

Countess of Huntingdon's exertions.

* Cook's Voyage to the Pacific (3 vols 4to, Lond. 1785), vol. ii. p. 77.

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promise to make some attempt to realize it. In 1795, the Missionary Society was formed, the main object of which was to disseminate the light of divine truth over all the dark regions of the earth. The following year saw thirty teachers embark in the Thames, on board of a ship called the Duff, under the command of Captain Wilson, whose name is favourably associated with this most generous project. On the 23d September, they left the shores of Britain; and, in the beginning of the succeeding March, they descried the bold outline of Otaheite on the verge of the horizon.

Voyage of the Duff.

Of the persons selected to discharge the duties of this important undertaking, four are described as "ordained ministers;" the rest were mechanics of various orders, qualified to teach the useful arts, or to exercise them in their own behalf. The directors inform us that they were desirous to obtain some possessed of literary attainments; but they were not less solicitous to procure adepts in such manual occupations as would make them most acceptable to the heathen in that state of inferior civilisation to which they had advanced. Only those candidates were received whose characters could bear the most minute examination, and who, besides, could produce evidence of superior intelligence and a hearty devotedness to the great cause to which they were about to consecrate their exertions during the remainder of their lives.*

Her reception at Tahiti.

On the 7th March 1797, the missionaries landed on the shore of Otaheite, where they were met by the king and queen, who received them in a very cordial manner. The strangers were immediately conducted to a large house, which the natives had erected for the accommodation of Captain Bligh, whom they still expected to return. Nor were the generous rulers satisfied with this act of kindness towards their visiters; they also ceded in a formal manner to Captain Wilson and his passen-

* Wilson's Missionary Voyage in the Ship Duff, p. 4.

CHAP. III. gers the whole district of Matavai, in which their dwelling was situated. Presentations of this kind, it is said, were not uncommon among the islanders as a matter of courtesy to a guest; but, generally speaking, the persons who received the compliment did not think of appropriating the lands or plantations to their own use. It is believed, however, such was the estimate of the advantages expected to result from the residence of the missionaries among them, that, in order to afford every facility for the accomplishment of an object so desirable, the people as well as the chiefs were sincere in making the cession now mentioned. But no attempt is made to conceal the motives which led to such munificence. Whatever advantages the king or his advisers might hope to derive from the settlement of the English on his island, it is clear that as yet they were not influenced by any desire to receive instruction either secular or religious. This was made manifest by some remarks which at a later period dropped from one of the leaders, who said that the missionaries gave the people plenty of talk and prayer, but very few knives, axes, scissors, or cloth. A wish to possess such property, and to receive the assistance of the Europeans in the exercise of the mechanical arts, or in their wars, was probably the motive by which the natives were most strongly influenced.*

Cession of territory to the missionaries.

It will not be denied, that the selection of the persons who, on this occasion, were destined to labour in the arduous field of a South Sea Mission, was regulated by prudence, as well as by a due regard to the ultimate object which it was meant they should accomplish. The mixture of artificers with men of a higher class, who had devoted their thoughts to professional learning, so far from being objectionable, sets forth in the clearest light the wisdom and intelligence on which the whole scheme was founded. It proceeded on the judicious determination to combine with the elements of christian knowledge the means of expanding the minds and improving

Selection of missionary labourers.

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 9.

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the taste of the inhabitants; to bestow upon them, in short, the habits of civilized men, as well as the refined sentiments and exalted hopes of true believers.

The mode of commencing missionary labours.

On no point have the friends of missions differed more than as to the mode in which their labours should be commenced, and the means whereby their benevolent objects might, in the first instance, be most effectually realized. Judging from the analogy of the Divine proceedings in the introduction of Christianity into the world, where much schooling and a fulness of time were required to prepare the minds of men for profiting by the higher knowledge about to be conveyed to them, it might be inferred that the peculiar doctrines of the gospel ought not to be revealed to the heathen until they shall have been somewhat fitted for receiving them, by inuring their minds to such intellectual exercises as will almost necessarily lead to reasoning and reflection. This inference may be farther strengthened, by calling to mind the injunction addressed to the first apostles of our faith, who were commanded to teach all nations, and then to initiate them into the christian covenant by the sacrament of baptism. For a time, too, the blessings of the New Law were restricted to those who, during several centuries, had been under that schoolmaster, whose teaching, however obscure in its elements, was calculated to make them ready for higher attainments. It has therefore become a maxim among the most distinguished of theological writers, that "men must be rational and civilized before they can be made Christians, because knowledge has a happy tendency to enlarge the mind and to encourage generous sentiments." On similar grounds it has been maintained, that "Christianity cannot immediately transform the minds of men, and totally change the general temper and complexion of any people; but, on the contrary, it will thereby itself undergo considerable alteration, and its own influence and effect depend thereon. And as barbarous and savage nations are unable to bear the truth, so vicious and immoral ones are in like manner incapable of bringing

Theological maxim on that subject.

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forth the fruits thereof. If such a people did receive the true religion, they would immediately drop it again."*

Lesson from history of missions.

Such conclusions derive no small confirmation from the history of missions in general, and even from that of the successive attempts which have been made to convert the natives of the South Sea Islands. At first the sublime truths of revelation were received with so much apathy and carelessness, that they made no impression on the flexible minds to which they were addressed. The yielding savages listened to instruction with the apparent docility of children: their natural softness of temper inclined them to accept with an air of gratitude a boon which seemed to be highly valued by those who offered it; but, during a period of nearly twenty years, the zeal of the preachers was not rewarded by the conversion of a single individual whose example could have any effect upon others. It may be observed, too, that a path was gradually opened up for the reception of the gospel among the inhabitants of the Society and Georgian groups, by the respect which they entertained for a people who had made so great an advance in the arts which minister to human power and comfort. They concluded, that the god who could teach his votaries to print books, make gunpowder, and build ships of war, must be greatly superior to their own idols, who could contribute nothing to the embellishment of peace, and afford little aid in the day of battle. There cannot be any doubt that it was with the view of improving his subjects in the mechanical arts, and more especially augmenting his military resources, rather than with any reference to spiritual advantages, that Pomare finally resolved to abjure the absurdities of the superstition in which he had been educated.

Reasonings of the Tahitians.

The annals of all countries where Europeans have planted their literature and religion afford instruction

* These opinions were the result of profound reflection on the part of Dr Nathaniel Lardner, and of Bishop Law, the celebrated author of the "Considerations on the Theory of Religion."

as well as warning relative to the manner in which the minds of ignorant tribes should be approached with the principles of theological knowledge. The Spaniards in America, not less than the Portuguese in Africa, were chargeable with much imprudence in this respect. To the pious men who followed the steps of the invaders in either continent, it seemed sufficient if they could induce the uninstructed natives to receive baptism, or to observe, even mechanically, certain forms of the church; and hence it cannot appear surprising that Christianity failed to obtain any permanent footing in those parts of the world, notwithstanding the earnest desire with which the conversion of the people was pursued by the clergy and encouraged by the government.

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The Spanish missionaries in America

It was long ago remarked, that whatever might be the merit of the Spanish ecclesiastics, the success of their endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians was more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the amount of their own zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over their minds. For this failure various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardour to make proselytes, admitted them into the church without previous instruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge of the several languages as to be able to explain to their converts the mysteries of faith or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtile distinction in scholastic theology, between that degree of assent which is founded upon a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded where both these are imperfect, they adopted this strange practice, no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion which addresses itself to the understanding of men than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of the inhabitants, overawed by the dread of power, or moved by the example of their own chiefs, expressed the slightest desire of embracing the creed of their invaders, they were instantly baptized. While this rage of conversion

Their precipitancy in making proselytes.

CHAP. III. continued, a single clergyman performed that sacred rite to more than five thousand Mexicans in one day, and did not desist until he was so exhausted by fatigue that he could not lift his hands. In the course of a few years, after the Spaniards had completed their conquest, the same sacrament was administered to upwards of four millions of the natives. Proselytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its usages with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they had acquired. These sentiments the new converts transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep that the European priests, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. Hence the religious institutions of their ancestors were long remembered and held in honour by many of the Indians both in Mexico and Peru; and whenever they thought themselves secure from the inspection of their conquerors, they assembled to celebrate their idolatrous rites.

Consequences of this precipitancy.

Nor were those the only obstacles to the progress of the gospel among the native population of South America. The powers of their uncultivated understandings were so limited, their observations and reflections reached so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seemed hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, while they possessed not language fitted to express them. To such men, the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must have been, in a great measure, incomprehensible. The splendid ceremonies of the popish worship, no doubt, caught the eye, and pleased the imagination; but when their instructors attempted to explain the articles of faith with which the external observances were connected, they so little conceived the meaning of what they heard, that their acquiescence could not merit the name of belief. Nor was their indifference

Stupidity of the proselytes.

less than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and engrossed by the objects before them, neither the promises nor the threatenings of religion made much impression upon their hearts. Astonished equally at their slowness of comprehension and insensibility, a council held at Lima decreed that they ought to be excluded from the solemnity of the Eucharist; and after the lapse of two centuries, during which they continued members of the church, so small were their attainments in knowledge that very few possessed such a portion of spiritual discernment as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. Even now, after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious; and though some of them have gone through the ordinary course of academic education with applause, their constancy is still so much suspected that they are rarely elevated to the priesthood, or received into any religious order.*

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The council of Lima.

A similar lesson may be derived from the hasty proceedings of the Portuguese among the savages of Africa. When Bemoy, a native prince, appeared at Lisbon to solicit military aid from the king, he was informed that, in order to entitle himself to the favour of his majesty, he must consent to be previously washed in the waters of baptism. It does not appear that the heathen chief manifested any reluctance to comply with a condition from which he was to derive such an important advantage. Decorum, however, requiring that some form of instruction should be observed, he was placed under the tuition of several learned doctors; and no sooner was a

The Portuguese missionaries in Africa.

* Torquemada, Monarchia Indiana (3 vols folio, Madrid, 1723), lib. xvii. chap. 13. Ulloa, Voyage Historique de l'Amerique Meridionale (2 vols 4to, Paris), vol. i. p. 343. Robertson's History of America (4 vols 8vo, Lond.), vol. iv. p. 57. Clavigero has attempted to invalidate the statement made above, as to the exclusion of Indians from the sacrament and holy orders; but he ventures not to deny that the doctrines of Christianity were received with apathy, imperfectly comprehended, and frequently postponed to the more captivating usages of the native superstition.

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favourable report made of his attainments as a catechumen than he was formally admitted within the pale of the visible church.

Baptism of the King of Congo.

At a later period, the King of Congo was baptized, together with all his nobles, and a hundred thousand of his subjects. In return for his zeal in this speedy conversion of his people, he was presented with a standard bearing a cross, the same, we are assured, that Innocent VIII. had granted to the crusaders for the war against the infidels. But although nothing could be more promising than this establishment of the catholic faith in the realm of Congo, insuperable difficulties were soon created. After the first ceremonies had passed, the missionaries considered it their duty to intimate to the king, that as a proof of his sincerity in the new belief, he must consent to dismiss his numerous seraglio, and confine himself to one wife. This restriction appeared to the monarch so intolerable, as well as inexpedient, that, rather than submit to it, he forthwith renounced Christianity, and returned with all his chiefs to the practice of his wonted paganism. Such an event, which might have discouraged less resolute agents, neither cooled the zeal nor improved the wisdom of the Portuguese. Having formed establishments along the coast, they received, under the sanction of the papal court, a body of missionaries; who, being monks of the strictest order, and deeply imbued with all the prejudices of their class, failed equally, in communicating the best form of religion, and in the most conciliatory manner. These were followed by a detachment of capuchins, who assumed a station at the mouth of the river, where a convent was built, with the concurrence of the pagan monarch, who at once supplied to them all the comforts he could provide, and a great number of willing converts who vied with each other in the desire for baptism.

Establishments of monks in Congo.

Almost every mission, at the commencement, proceeded in a very prosperous manner. So long as the exertions of the spiritual fathers were confined to that rite, to the exhibition of images, and the distribution of beads, the

people were delighted by becoming Christians. But they seem not to have apprehended that this profession would in any degree interfere with their ancient habits and superstitions. When these were attacked, and more especially when the arrangements respecting their females were called in question, a violent controversy always arose. Nevertheless the capuchins persevered, and by the several journeys which they accomplished into the interior, they brought to the knowledge of the European world many important facts, illustrative of the customs and manners of the several tribes, as well as of the mysterious regions which stretch between the Congo and the great desert. On their way they occasionally saw the roads covered with persons coming to be baptized. Whole villages flocked to them; so that they were often obliged to spend successive days in the pleasant labour of admitting their numerous converts into the church. At Congo-Batta they found their services in such request that they could scarcely find time for food or sleep. But after nearly the whole city and neighbourhood had been christened, they made a discovery not less mortifying perhaps to their spiritual zeal than to their human pride. According to the Roman ritual, one part of the ceremony consists in placing salt upon the mouth; which circumstance, as that substance in Africa is scarce and an object of luxury, was found to have no small effect in producing the cheerfulness with which the nation came to the washing of regeneration. When the reverend fathers had acquired a knowledge of their language, they perceived that the sole idea which the natives attached to the rite was the eating of this small quantity of salt; nor by their utmost efforts did they succeed in changing either the language or the feelings so unhappily connected with this most important subject.

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Apparent success of the monks.

Total ultimate failure.

These instances of premature conversion have been adduced, with the view of illustrating the inconvenience which must always arise from the attempt to combine with the rude conceptions of the heathen mind the elevated doctrines of Christianity. The mysteries of the

CHAP. III. incarnation and atonement, which are received by the faithful in enlightened countries with a reverential silence and the most profound humility, are described by the young disciples in savage lands, in terms that cannot fail to give offence to piety, being destitute at once of respect and decorum. The associations formed in the fancy of an idolater between a god and his progeny, are very unhappily applied to the mysterious event which took place at Bethlehem; and the language arising from such gross ideas seems to contaminate the purer notions with which all the essential tenets of the gospel are linked in the imagination of a European. For examples of the evil to which allusion is now made, we might refer to some portions of Polynesian history, where the Redeemer is mentioned and his offices described in words not more spiritual than might be applied to a son of Oro, or a descendant of Taaroa.

The blending of heathen and Christian doctrines.

It is almost inseparable from the duties of an uninspired missionary to exaggerate the amount of his success by contemplating the increased number of his proselytes. This weakness has been displayed in many instances both by Protestants and Roman Catholics. They have too frequently been satisfied with qualifications extremely meagre and imperfect; admitting to the most sacred ordinances numerous individuals who ought not to have been considered above the rank of mere catechumens. Of this imprudent haste the missions sent into Africa and New Spain afford memorable examples; followed, too, by the natural result, a total failure in the mean time, and an increase of difficulties for the future. Even in Eimeo, one of the Georgian Islands, a manifest eagerness was displayed to obtain the names of persons who might rank as converts before the principles of Christianity were either explained or understood. Thirty-one, who had declared that they had renounced the idols and every practice connected with their ancient superstition, requested to be enrolled among those who desired to worship Jehovah, and to become disciples of Christ. But others who "intended to cast away the

Precipitancy in making converts.

idols, refused to have their names written down at that time." CHAP III.

Nor do the missionaries themselves make any attempt to conceal that their success at first was very limited, and their prospects far from encouraging. They admit the accuracy of the representation made by a traveller several years after they had commenced their labours, that the congregation in Otaheite did not exceed fifty persons. At the conclusion of divine service, Otoo the king asked the stranger whether it was all true that the preachers taught. The latter replied in the affirmative, assuring him that it was strictly so, according to his own belief, and the conviction of all the wiser and better part of his countrymen. "He demanded of me where Jehovah lived: I pointed to the heavens. He said he did not believe it. His brother was, if possible, still worse: they said it was all falsehood."* Indeed, nothing is more remarkable in the characters of the meritorious men who first visited the southern hemisphere with the gospel in their hands, than the perseverance which they have manifested in defiance of much suffering and repeated disappointments. That many who received the truth from their lips were not duly qualified for the full appreciation of its benefits cannot be denied; but no one who has perused the record of their exertions, perils, and afflictions, will ascribe the deficiency to any defect of zeal on their part, wherever they were permitted to exercise their ministry.

Slow progress of the mission in Tahiti.

Under such impressions, both in regard to the sincerity of the missionaries and the good they have effected, it is not without pain that we advert to less favourable opinions entertained by writers whose sentiments cannot fail to have much weight with the public. One, after relating that he had been present at a religious assembly in Otaheite, enters into a comparison of the present state of the island with what it was before the introduction of Christianity, and arrives at a conclusion

Unfavourable opinions respecting that mission.

* Turnbull's Voyage round the World in the Years 1800-1804 (3 vols 8vo, Lond. 1805), vol. iii. p. 10.

CHAP. III. very unfavourable to the wisdom and even to the motives of the English teachers. The religion they have established is not, he maintains, that which is revealed in the New Testament, while it has, according to his views, been the fertile source of contention, deceit, and hypocrisy.

Kotzebue's account of it.

Having gained over to their doctrine the chief ruler of a district, "the conversion acted upon the peaceful population like a spark thrown into a powder magazine, and was followed by a fearful explosion. The old temples were destroyed; every memorial of the former worship defaced; and whoever would not adopt the new creed was put to a cruel death. With the zeal for making proselytes, the rage of tigers took possession of a people once so gentle. Streams of blood flowed; whole races were exterminated; and many resolutely met the death they preferred to the renunciation of their ancient faith. Some few escaped by flight to the recesses of the lofty mountains, where they lived in seclusion, faithful to the gods of their ancestors." True Christianity, he remarks, and a liberal government, might have soon given to this people, endued by nature with the seeds of every social virtue, a rank among civilized nations. Under such a blessed influence, the arts and sciences would soon have taken root, the intellect of the natives would have expanded, and a just estimation of all that is good and beautiful would have refined their manners and ennobled their hearts. Europe would soon have admired, perhaps envied, Otaheite; but the religion taught by the missionaries is not, he repeats, genuine Christianity, though it may possibly comprehend some of its doctrines but half understood by the teachers themselves.

He ascribes to it some good and much evil.

The same author admits, indeed, that the teaching of the missionaries has, with a great deal of evil, effected some good. It has abolished heathen superstitions and an irrational worship, but he maintains that it has introduced new errors in their stead. It has restrained the vices of theft and incontinence, but it has given birth to bigotry, hypocrisy, and a hatred of all other modes of faith. It has put an end to the avowed sacrifice of men,

but many more human beings, says he, have been actually sacrificed to it than ever were to their heathen gods. The bloody persecution instigated by the missionaries has performed the office of a desolating plague. "I really believe," he concludes, "that these pious people were themselves shocked at the consequences of their zeal; but they soon consoled themselves, and have ever continued to watch with the most vigilant severity over the maintenance of every article of their faith. Hence the former industry, and the joyous buoyancy of spirits, have been changed for continual praying, and meditating upon things which the teachers understand as little as the taught."*

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He denounces the missionaries.

Similar opinions given by other maritime adventurers have been re-echoed by the public journals; and an impression has been very generally produced, that the European teachers have to answer for more evil than will ever be compensated by their most zealous services. Alluding to Otaheite, one of them observes, that "this fine romantic island appears, morally speaking, to be in a most deplorable condition. The missionaries have contrived to obtain an entire ascendency, but their labours have as yet been productive of little good." It is maintained that these pious men have overshot the mark which they ought to have aimed at; and, by attempting too much, have failed in that which, with more patience and less ambition, they might have accomplished. They have ostensibly succeeded in christianizing nearly the whole population, who have been generally inspired with contempt for their former superstitions. But, it is alleged, that, in eradicating these, they have failed to substitute any better principle in their stead; and that the only effect produced by the change has been to degrade our religion to the level of the most brutish idolatry, without making the slightest advance towards raising

Similar opinions by other parties.

* Kotzebue's Voyage round the World in the Years 1823-1826 (2 vols 12mo, Lond. 1830), vol. i. p. 159.

CHAP. III. their unhappy proselytes to the rank of Christians. Hence the authority to which we now refer maintains, that the people are still as much barbarians as ever they were: nay, that they are worse, having borrowed from civilisation nothing but the vices by which it is dishonoured, and exhibiting in their character a deplorable union of all that is most corrupt and profligate in the two opposite states of society which are thus brought into juxtaposition. Drunkenness is universal; the late king died of intoxication, and numbers of the degraded people terminate their existence in the same way. The effects of this indulgence upon savage natures, and the scenes to which it gives rise, may be easily imagined. The immediate consequence is, the most abject wretchedness, together with all the crimes which invariably belong to the lowest condition of human existence. It is justly remarked, that the first step towards civilizing a people is to form them to habits of industry, and if possible to create in their minds a desire to better their condition. But nothing of this kind, it is asserted, has as yet been seriously attempted. The missionaries seem more disposed to act the part of legislators than instructors of the Otaheitans. They have, says their accuser, been at infinite pains to get up a mock parliament; but hitherto they appear to have found no leisure for the more obscure and humble labours which can alone prepare a people for receiving political institutions.*

Denunciations by the Edinburgh Review

Mistakes of Kotzebue.

To those who have read with any degree of attention the several records of missionary labour in the South Sea, it must be manifest, that the Russian commander, besides yielding to a strong prejudice by which, perhaps unconsciously, he had allowed his mind to be warped, has fallen into some important mistakes. For example, his

* Edinburgh Review, vol. liii. p. 217. It is deserving of notice, that most of the leading periodicals have formed unfavourable judgments respecting the character and doings of the South Sea missionaries. Not only the journal now quoted, but also the Quarterly Review and the Westminster have assumed a hostile attitude towards those painful labourers.

statement that Christianity was established by force in Otaheite, derives no support from any authentic narrative. By what means, it has been asked, could a few unarmed men, encumbered with their wives and children, dependent at every moment for their lives upon the disposition of the inhabitants towards them, so far influence the king of the island and his adherents to adopt a system of religion opposed to all their hereditary opinions and habits, as to induce them to engage in its propagation, and the others to submit to its precepts? The missionaries, as their own journals show, were long exposed to violence and rapacity. Turnbull, who dwelt many months at Matavai some years after their arrival, relates that, besides the numerous sufferings they endured at the hands of the natives, they encountered many hardships and dangers inflicted by their own countrymen. Certain Europeans, at that time resident in the island, instead of assisting these worthy persons in their forlorn situation, took a malicious pleasure in counteracting their efforts, in misrepresenting their views, and even in stirring up the inhabitants to the most furious outrages. After remarking that the preachers lived together in the greatest affection, and presented an example of unremitting industry, he adds, "their situation is by no means so comfortable as many of their friends may be inclined to imagine. Their life is a life of contest, hardship, and disappointment; like their holy master, they have to preach to the deaf, and exhibit their works to the blind."*

The missionaries vindicated.

Facts, which cannot be contested, will be found to prove, that Christianity, so far from being planted in the islands of the South Sea by violent means, was introduced through much patience and tribulation. The missionaries were the victims, not the authors, of persecution, which they sustained with fortitude, and, if occasion offered, requited with kindness. In the summer of 1815, certain idolatrous chiefs at Pare and Matavai joined

They were the victims, not the authors of persecution.

* Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 85.

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in a conspiracy against their mild teachers, proposing to cut them all off. But thinking themselves unequal to the task, those of the new religion being already formidable both in number and respectability, they acquainted the leaders of Atahuru and Papara with their views, and invited them to join. These, though their ancient rivals and enemies, came most readily into the measure, and prepared to co-operate without delay: and on the night of the 7th of July, these combined forces were to fall on such as had renounced heathenism and exterminate them utterly. But some of the confederates being rather dilatory, and secret intelligence having been conveyed to the party whose destruction was meditated, these last rushed on board their canoes and set sail for Eimeo, where they arrived in safety next morning. The chiefs, disappointed in their object, employed their arms against one another with great fury. All the north-eastern portion of Otaheite was burnt or plundered; for the question of religion being forgotten, the savage captains fought merely to revenge former injuries.

Conspiracy of heathen chiefs.

The most ardent patrons of missions will not maintain that in no instance has zeal overstepped the bounds of prudence, or that pearls have not occasionally been thrown before swine, who tried to turn again and rend their benefactors. But to justify the use of the means which have been employed, they point with satisfaction, and even some degree of triumph, to the effects which are already produced. They can assert, that wherever Christianity has been received, however imperfectly, the habits of the natives are improved, their fierce tempers have been mollified, and a respect for human life has succeeded to that thirst for blood which formerly occasioned the most deplorable catastrophes. In all the islands where the missionaries have succeeded in establishing a settlement, security is now afforded to the mariner of every nation, who either seeks refuge from misfortune, the intercourse of trade, or the gratification of a liberal curiosity. At other places, on the contrary, where

General effects of the missions.

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the mild spirit of the gospel has not yet been felt, scarcely a year passes in which we do not hear of murderous quarrels between the inhabitants and those by whom they are visited. At some of the Marquesas, till very lately, a trading vessel scarcely dared to anchor. In the Friendly Islands, according to the statement of a recent author, while the chiefs were manifesting the strongest attachment to Captain Cook, they planned the assassination of himself and all his officers, and with this view invited them to an entertainment by torch-light. Even on the shore of Otaheite, when Bligh's vessel arrived, the people cut the cables, in order that, being drifted on the beach, she might fall into their hands as plunder. Some years afterwards, the Society islanders seized an English brig, murdered the officers, killed or disabled the crew, and took possession of her; but since the lessons of the christian teachers have been given, every ship that has touched there, or at any other in the adjacent groups, has been as safe as in the Thames or the Weser.*

Former character of the natives.

Numerous testimonials from seafaring persons present themselves, corroborative of the statements just made, and illustrating the happy change which has been achieved in the character of the natives by the benign influence of Christianity. The captain of an American trader, wrecked on the coast of Rurutoo, relates that the islanders, formerly noted for their savage propensities, assisted him in landing his cargo, carried the goods to the mission-house, a distance of half-a-mile, and deposited them in safety. Not a single article of clothing was taken from any man belonging to the ship, though there was an opportunity of abstracting not only the property of the sailors, but even some valuable commodities which would have conferred unknown wealth upon the captors. He afterwards lived ashore among the simple

Changes made upon it by Christianity.

* A Vindication of the South Sea Missions, &c. By William Ellis (8vo, Lond. 1831), p. 47. An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, compiled from the Communications of Mr William Mariner (2 vols 18mo, Edin. 1827), vol. ii. pp. 71, 72.

CHAP. III. people, from whom he, his officers, and crew, "received the kindest treatment that could be imagined," and for which, says he, "I shall ever be thankful." Well might another navigator, who had just escaped from the hands of the unbaptized barbarians of Whytootake, exclaim to a christian teacher, "now we see more than ever what has been done by you and the missionaries on the islands where you have resided, and the trouble you have had in bringing the natives from what they were to what they are at present."*

Suppression of bloody and gross usages.

We have already adverted to the suppression of human sacrifices, of infanticide, of licentious commemorations, and of other usages incompatible with the feelings of a sound morality. To these improvements in the sentiments and habits of the people—the happy fruits of true religion—we shall hereafter have occasion to direct the attention of the reader more fully. Meantime, we proceed to notice other advantages which have sprung from missionary exertion in reference to domestic intercourse and the useful arts.

Fancied glory of the Tahitian savages.

No picture is more deceitful than that which exhibits the supposed innocence and delights of savage life. The child of nature is usually represented as being free from envy and all the factitious passions of civilized existence; a stranger to covetousness and ambition; happy in the enjoyments of those around him; content with his present lot, and having no apprehension in regard to the future. Oppressed by no care, burdened by no toil, tormented by no restless desire, seldom visited by sickness, his wants easily satisfied, his pleasures often recurring, the Otaheitan was conceived to pass his days in uninterrupted felicity, under the magnificent sky of the tropics, and amid scenes worthy of paradise. But a closer view disclosed a very different state of things. The lower classes were unmercifully plundered and oppressed by their superiors; domestic happiness, in its

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 51, where many similar proofs of growing civilisation will be found.

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proper sense, was unknown; the females were reduced to the greatest debasement, not being allowed to partake of the same food with their husbands and brothers, and not even permitted to dress it at the same fire, or place it in the same basket. It is farther asserted, that they were, generally speaking, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful, and that, under the dominion of the worst of propensities, they often acted more like fiends than human beings. "That there should," says Forster, "exist so great a degree of immorality in a nation, otherwise so happy in its simplicity and in the fewness of its wants, is a reflection very disgraceful to human nature in general, which, viewed to its greatest advantage here, is nevertheless imperfect." That this immorality did exist is not denied by one of the most ardent admirers of the Polynesians, who to the observation of a philosopher could add the advantage of a repeated residence amongst them.*

Their real deep debasement.

It is no doubt asserted by various authors who have recently visited the islands of the South Sea, that the wickedness of the natives has only changed its form, and that their indulgences, though less open than formerly, are equally flagitious. This accusation seems not to be well founded. True it is, that many who have ceased to do evil, after the manner of their unconverted countrymen, have not yet learned to do well, to the full extent of their christian obligations. Where sins are gross and shameful, the first step is more easily taken than the

Insinuation that they are not really changed.

* Forster's Voyage round the World in his Britannic Majesty's Sloop Resolution, commanded by Captain James Cook, during the Years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775 (2 vols 4to, Lond. 1777), vol. i. p. 337. Mr Forster nevertheless marked many good qualities in the people of Otaheite. "We now saw the character of the natives in a more favourable light than ever, and were convinced that the remembrance of injuries and the spirit of revenge did not enter into the composition of the good and simple Taheitans. It must surely be a comfortable reflection to every sensible mind, that philanthropy seems to be natural to mankind, and that the savage ideas of distrust, malevolence, and revenge, are only the consequence of a gradual depravation of manners."

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second; and hence the missionary finds less opposition when he denounces a flagrant iniquity than when he enjoins a needful virtue or a becoming grace. Those who read with attention the Epistles of St Paul to his converts, in the most refined parts of the Roman empire, will perceive that, though they had abjured the abominations of heathenism and the useless ceremonies of the Mosaical law, their conduct did not, in all cases, throw a suitable light on the purer principles which they had openly professed. The fifth and sixth chapters of his first letter to the Corinthians prove but too clearly that the licentiousness of pagan manners did not yield, all at once, to the holy precepts of the gospel, nor to the instructive example of its self-denied teachers.

Allowance to be made for heathen converts.

Much allowance ought therefore to be made whenever a comparison is instituted between what the christianized savage is, and what he ought to be,—a remark which acquires double force when applied to Polynesia, where the influence of religion is so frequently counteracted by hostile causes. Of these, perhaps one of the most pernicious is the introduction of ardent spirits. Rum, we are assured, has been productive of more misery than firearms and all the European diseases with which the natives have been afflicted. When the gospel was first established among them, drunkenness was universally discountenanced; and even now the use of intoxicating mixtures has been revived in those districts chiefly which are visited by foreign ships. Mr Ellis maintains that but for the introduction of such traders the Otaheitans would have been at this day among the most temperate people on the face of the earth. Their own laws were strong enough to prevent the manufacture of spirituous liquors at home; and when the culture of sugar was introduced by the Missionary Society, it was made an express stipulation that rum should not be distilled. But the chiefs have wanted either the power or the firmness to prevent the importation of it from abroad. In all lands, drunkenness is a vice so difficult to relinquish, that, even among the highest ranks of social life,

Efforts in Tahiti against intemperance.

where connexions, character, health, and all the other considerations which affect the interests of man are known to exercise the greatest influence, the victim of intemperance is seldom seen to achieve his emancipation from its ignominious thraldom. It will not therefore surprise any one to learn that in this respect reformation has not been complete. Pomare, the first royal convert, it has been already noticed, fell a sacrifice to that debasing habit, which, notwithstanding his full conviction of its evils, he could never entirely overcome: and at one period, so dreadful were its ravages that, but for the check interposed by our sanctifying religion, the whole race would probably have been exterminated.*

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Drunkenness of King Pomare.

The triumph of the gospel has been more conspicuous in regard to that leading virtue which is the pledge and safeguard of domestic comfort, the foundation of all regular society, and the source of all the endearing relationships of life. No one can read the descriptions of the early voyagers without a mixture of compassion and disgust at the licentious scenes introduced into their narratives; and, though the writers in general may not have been disposed to darken beyond necessity the shades of the picture, some of them were constrained to declare that the "excesses were incredible." To the first missionaries, accordingly, no bar appeared so insuperable as the loose notions which every where prevailed in regard to the requisitions of the seventh commandment. The effect was the same on the minds of the early converts themselves, and clouded their anticipations as to the success of the new religion. "You may," said one of the more intelligent among them, "induce the people to discontinue murdering their infants, offering human sacrifices, and practising demon-worship. You may induce them to burn their idols, embrace your faith, attend your prayers, learn your books, and possibly even refrain from drunkenness and theft; but the preservation of female virtue, union in marriage according to christian

Fearful power of licentious habits.

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 88.

CHAP. III. precepts, and conjugal fidelity, will never be obtained." On this important point, however, where reformation was the most hopeless, success has been the most complete.

Suppression of licentiousness.

No sooner was the authority of the Redeemer recognised, even through the somewhat obscure medium in which his character and offices were conveyed, than the more offensive of the abominations disappeared; the virtue of chastity was inculcated and maintained; christian marriage was instituted, and the inviolable obligations of the bond piously acknowledged. This change, it is added, has been, under the Divine blessing, effected entirely by the exertions of christian missionaries, not only without any external assistance, but in the face of the determined opposition of many from whom they might have expected both countenance and aid.

Nor have the teachers confined their benevolent views to spiritual benefits and mental improvement; they have also introduced many useful arts, and instructed the natives how to profit by the rich gifts which Providence has bestowed upon them, in a fertile glebe and most genial climate. Besides the culture of the sugar-cane already mentioned, they have taught the best methods of producing crops of tobacco, coffee, cotton, and other valuable commodities, to which the soil not less than the temperature of the atmosphere is remarkably favourable.

Introduction of the useful arts.

They have, moreover, made them acquainted with most of the mechanical arts. In Otaheite more especially are found persons who can prosecute with considerable success the trades of carpenter, mason, smith, turner, cotton-spinner, and weaver. It is readily admitted, at the same time, that industry and the love of labour are not a spontaneous fruit among the islanders of the South Sea. Turnbull, who knew their characters well, remarked long ago that, if their land is fertile and their sky serene, their physical temperament is so indolent as to render these natural advantages totally unproductive. The missionaries, he remarks, possess a public garden, very well stocked and cultivated, and the greater part of them a private one not much inferior. It seems natural to

imagine that its beauty and utility would have acted as a stimulus to the natives to imitate their exertions; "the indolence of the Otaheitans is beyond the cure of any common remedy."* CHAP. III.

But it is admitted, even by those least friendly to the missionaries, that the spirit of religion, combined with a desire to improve their secular affairs, has roused many of them from their constitutional torpor. Kotzebue narrates, that when his frigate entered the bay of Matavai, numerous boats, laden with all kinds of fruits, provisions, and other articles of merchandise, put off from the shore. With their wares on their backs, the natives climbed merrily up the sides of the ship, and the deck was soon transformed into a busy market, where all was fun and frolic. Alluding to their houses, he relates, that among the thickets of fruit-trees were seen the dwellings of the happy inhabitants of this great pleasure-ground, built of bamboos and covered with large leaves, standing each in its little garden; "but to our great astonishment, the stillness of death reigned among them; and even when the sun stood high in the heavens, no one was to be seen. At length we obtained, from the boat sent off to us at break of day with provisions, an explanation of this enigma. The inhabitants of Otaheite were celebrating the Sunday, on which account they did not leave their houses. The loud prayer reached my ears as I approached their dwellings; all the doors were closed, and not even the children allowed to enjoy the beauty of the morning." On this occasion the author notices two facts which illustrate very favourably the beneficial effects of missionary labour; namely, that though above a hundred of the inhabitants were on board his ship, nothing was stolen, and that on the first day he saw no females. He adds, "when we were afterwards occa-

Creation of activity.

A Tahitian Sabbath.

* Turnbull's Voyage, vol. iii. p. 18. Captain Beechey observes (Narrative, vol. i. p. 213), "that the indolence of these people has ever been notorious, and has been a greater bar to the suc cess of the missionaries than their previous faith."

CHAP. III. sionally visited by the women, they always behaved with the greatest propriety."

Mr Hoffman, who was naturalist to the expedition, observed among the natives an instance of similar respect for the Lord's-day. Having undertaken a journey into the interior of Otaheite, to visit the wonderful lake of Wahiria, he procured an escort consisting of such individuals as were acquainted with the route. "The following day being Sunday, Tauru, immediately on rising, repeated a long prayer, and then read a chapter of the New Testament, of which at least one copy was to be found in every hut." After a good breakfast, the philosopher wished to proceed, but his guides were not to be moved, and threats and entreaties were equally unavailing. They assured him that a continuation of the journey would be a profanation of the Sabbath, a crime for which they would be punished, should it come to the knowledge of the missionaries. The next morning they made no objection to setting out.*

Strong respect for the Sabbath.

Such facts prove that the gospel has not been preached to the Georgian islanders altogether in vain. In some cases, no doubt, there may be found among them, as elsewhere, the form of godliness without the power; and their zealous king was not the only native of Otaheite whose conscience permitted him to combine the worship of Jehovah with a relaxed code of morals. But such discrepancies, it will be admitted, occur in all christian communities; and in justice to the new converts of the Pacific, we must not insist upon applying to their conduct a higher standard than to other nations at a similar period of advancement. The religion of Christ in these days operates not by a miraculous agency, but by an appeal to the reason and the heart; hence the point which every candid inquirer will endeavour to determine, with a due reference to the previous character of a recently converted people, is, whether Christianity has really accomplished that degree of improvement which

Discrepancies in moral conduct.

* Kotzebue's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 212.

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experience in similar cases would have led him to expect. On this equitable ground, the patrons of missions are willing to have their pretensions decided and their labours measured, more especially as they respect the change effected by their means throughout the insular habitations of the great South Sea.*

Britain's power to propagate the gospel.

There is no fanaticism, it is believed, in the persuasion, that to Britain has been intrusted by Divine Providence a greater extent of power than ever belonged to any nation, whether in ancient or modern times, with the view that she may carry to the remotest parts of the earth the pure form of Christianity which she professes, and the equal laws whereby the happiness of her people is secured. It has been well said, that she is not more eminent for her prowess in arms, her success in commerce, and her rank in science, and in all the arts which minister to the embellishment of social life, than she is for her exertions in diffusing the light of knowledge and of heavenly truth over the world.' Animated by motives of the purest nature, thousands have been found ready to unite their counsels and contribute their property to send to others the invaluable gift which they themselves have received from above. Under the influence of such desires, and encouraged by such protection, devout men have gone forth on the embassy of mercy to some of the most savage nations of the globe.

The character of her missionaries

At a distance from friends and country, exposed to the rage or caprice of the barbarians whom they wished to save, they have endured privations and encountered dangers which the attainment of no merely human object would have supplied courage to sustain. They have named the name of the Redeemer where it was never heard before: they have added new regions to the geography of Christianity; they have increased the number of its triumphs, and brightened the splendour of its victories.

Nor has their enterprise been unproductive of good, or unattended with cheering hopes. Over regions of

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 69.

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gross darkness, guilt, and despair, they have spread light, purity, and hope. Bloodshed and anarchy have given way to peace and order. Men who lived but to suffer, and died but to perish, have been saved from wretchedness and been made partakers of an immortal inheritance. The howl of superstitious fear has been succeeded by the language of prayer, and the shouts of ferocious war by the song of christian praise.* Civilisation, too, is advancing with rapid steps in connexion with a purer faith. The hut of the Otaheitan is replaced by a comfortable house, supplied with the conveniences and even the elegances of Europe; his canoe has been exchanged for ships of considerable burden; and his rude barter, or more lawless plunder, has been superseded by the intercourse of regular commerce. By their exertions, moreover, new fields of discovery have been opened to the philosopher. The missionaries have penetrated into regions where the foot of other travellers has never trodden, and have explored many regions which neither the love of gold nor the desire of knowlege could induce the boldest to enter. They have presented man under aspects the most interesting in which he can ever be contemplated; adding new facts to illustrate his natural history, and to trace the lines of his migration from the parent settlement where he received the first rudiments of knowledge. To the treasures of philology they have brought an accession of new tongues, and exhibited in written forms alphabets and languages unknown amongst European scholars. Apart therefore from Christianity,

The results of their labours.

The extent of their explorations.

* "On his startled ear
What unaccustomed sounds come from those shores,
Charming the lone Pacific?—Not the shouts
Of war, nor maddening songs of Bacchanals;
But from the rude Marae, the full-toned psalm
Of christian praise.—A moral miracle!
Tahiti now enjoys the gladdening smile
Of Sabbaths. Savage dialects unheard
At Babel, or at Jewish Pentecost,
Now first articulate divinest sounds
And swell the universal Amen."

Conder's "Star in the East."

and without any respect to the spiritual welfare of a large portion of the human race, it may be asserted, that the labours of those zealous men must prove at once extremely interesting and important to the philosopher, the scholar, and the politician.* CHAP. III.

The general interest of their proceedings.

The object is unquestionably important, and no means,

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* See Orme's Defence of the Missions in the South Sea and Sandwich Islands against the Misrepresentations contained in a late number of the Quarterly Review, in a Letter addressed to the Editor of that Journal (8vo, Lond. 1827), p. 75.

On this subject we are induced to quote a passage from the Works of the Reverend Robert Montgomery, the author of several popular poems, full of the fire and pathos of true genius:

"Go forth and teach!—and ye have gone, and done
Deeds that will shine, when thou art dark, O Sun;
Heroes! whose crowns with gems of glory shine,
Dug from the depths of heaven's eternal mine;
O what a conquest hath the cross obtain'd!
There, where of old a hell of darkness reign'd,
And crime and havoc, fiend-begotten pair,
In mortal bosoms made their savage lair,
And issued thence, to riot, rage, or kill,
Like incarnations of a demon's will,—
The peace that passeth understanding grows,
And earth seems born again without her woes;
So wondrously the spell divine descends,
And man with nature in communion blends.
The isles have seen HIM! and the deserts raise
Anthems that thrill the halls of heaven with praise:
Crouching and tame the tiger passions lie,
Hush'd by the gaze of an Almighty eye;
Temples and homes of sacred truth abound,
Where Satan once with all his crew was found;
And, hark! at sunset while the shady calm
Of forest coolness floats on wings of balm,
As roams the pilgrim in that dying glare,
From a lone hamlet winds the voice of prayer,—
Breath of the soul by Jesus taught to prize
And blend with music heard beyond the skies!—
Ecstatic thought! the zenith of our dreams,
Error has died in truth's victorious beams:
And where the savage round his altar fed
On the warm fragments of the limbless dead,
Cots which an English heart delights to hail
Deck the green wilds of many a foreign dale,
And turn'd by Piety's familiar hand,
Religion sees her tear-worn bibles stand."

CHAP. III. separated from religion, seem adequate to the accomplishment of it. Simple instruction in letters and the arts will not suffice. The mind must be roused and alarmed by revelations which respect the eternal state of man; the savage must be made to feel that the eye of heaven is upon him; and that there is a powerful hand ever stretched out to punish or to protect. To effect these ends, the learned and refined are not the best qualified, for there is a delicacy of feeling induced by literary habits, which shrinks from the familiar descriptions and bold remonstrances indispensable to the success of the missionary. An illiterate artisan, if animated with zeal, and not ignorant of the first truths of his religion, is, for breaking up the ground of pagan superstition, an instrument better suited than the brightest ornament of a university, or the most eloquent expounder of doctrine in the city pulpit. Such men as went forth in the Duff act as pioneers: they prepare the way for the advance of a more regular force; they cut out a path in the wild thicket or morass, by which their successors may proceed to complete the work begun with so much labour; they sow the seed, with an unskilful hand perhaps, and on ground little cultivated, but whence, at no distant day, a crop will spring to enrich and beautify the whole land. The missionary in due time is followed by the churchman, who systematizes the elements which the other has created. Like a wise master-builder, the latter polishes the materials, already in some degree prepared to his hand, and erects with them an orderly edifice, complete in all its parts, and having for its foundation the lively stones of an apostolical priesthood, qualified to offer the oblation of a spiritual sacrifice.

The qualifications of missionaries.

The work of missions is still imperfect.

We must look to the next generation for the full effects of the exertions made in the present. The warmest advocates of South Sea missions are most ready to acknowledge that the work is still imperfect; that much evil is yet to be corrected, and all that is good still needs improvement. But it must not thence be denied, that a great benefit has been conferred, in which the Christian

and philanthropist may rejoice. The leaven of the gospel, indeed, has not hitherto leavened the whole population, so that many are still found who profess not to believe in it, and amongst those who do, numbers are Christians only in name, and by their conduct frequently dishonour their calling. Who that is at all acquainted with the progress of our holy faith in past ages, could expect it to be otherwise? The directors of missions are not such enthusiasts as to look for miracles. "We treat those to whom we send the gospel, as God has treated mankind at large. It is carried to them, and proposed to their understandings, as accountable creatures, accompanied with the declaration sanctioned by divine authority—he that believeth shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be condemned. The gospel is not only preached, but it is translated into their own language, and they themselves are taught to read it. As in every preceding instance, some have believed, and some have believed not. Those who have received it in truth, have evinced their sincerity by renouncing dumb idols, and turning to the living God. As to the extent to which this is done, it has been such as appears to afford, in a signal degree, a proof of the divine approbation of the means employed, as well as of the intentions of those by whom they have been supplied. It has been such as to give joy to the pious labourer, notwithstanding the objections which have been brought and the calumnies which have been uttered against him."*

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The measure of missionary success.

Having presented a general view of the condition in which the natives of Polynesia were found, when first visited by Europeans, and described the means which have been employed for their improvement, in the arts of life as well as in the knowledge of their duty to Heaven and to one another, we now proceed to give a brief history of each separate group, as they have successively fallen under the notice of our countrymen, and employed their cares. In performing this part of our

Summary of this chapter and the preceding.

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 412.

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Plan of the sequel of this work

task, we shall not follow a strictly chronological order; considering it more suitable to the end we wish to accomplish, to note the course of events according to the comparative importance of the several islands in which our missionaries have formed establishments for propagating the gospel. The statistics and commercial capabilities of the people on both sides of the equator will afterwards pass under review, more particularly with relation to the interests of Great Britain, to whose exertions chiefly they owe their political existence.

CHAPTER IV.

The Georgian and Society Islands.

Discovery of Georgian and Society Islands—Quiros, Wallis, Bougainville, Cook—Natives had not improved—Missionaries land from the Duff—Pomare II. King—Peter the Swede acts as Interpreter—Teachers well received—Mechanical Trades introduced—Idolatry checked—Misunderstanding with the King about the Nautilus—Attack on Missionaries, some of whom depart—War in Otaheite—Death of Mr Lewis—Second Voyage of the Duff—Is captured by a French Privateer—Additional Teachers arrive—Another War—Death of Pomare I.—His Character—His Son at first less favourable to the Cause—Missionaries again alarmed—Revival of Affairs—The King converted—His Baptism deferred—Progress of the Gospel—Opposition of the Heathen—Clemency of the Royalists—Christianity extended to neighbouring Islands—Additional Teachers sent out—Printing begun—Great Desire for Books—Ship built by Missionaries—Natives form a Society for propagating the Gospel—Objection to their Mode of Contribution—Advantages gained—Church erected in Otaheite—Laws enacted—Pomare baptized—Communion administered in Raiatea—Demise of the King—Coronation of Pomare III.—His Death, and Accession of his Sister Aimata—Difficulties arise—Arrival of Pitcairn Islanders—Services of Captain Sandilands—War in Raiatea—Evils of such Commotions.

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The Society and Georgian Islands.

THE Society and Georgian Islands were first made known to civilized nations by a Spanish seaman. In 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros sailed from the port of Callao, with instructions from the government of Madrid to prosecute discovery in the Pacific Ocean, and more especially to direct his researches towards that unknown continent

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Discovery of Tahiti.

which had so long roused the curiosity of the speculative, and the avarice of all others. On the 10th February the following year, he descried an island, which presenting itself to him in the form of a curved line, he gave to it the name of Sagitaria, or the Bow. From its position, though not quite accurately ascertained, as well as with reference to the circumstance of its being divided by a narrow isthmus, geographers have agreed that the Spaniard must have discovered Otaheite. The natives were found in a state of the utmost simplicity; entirely unencumbered with clothes, and armed with wooden lances burnt at the point, or with great clubs. An altar formed of rude stones was observed by the strangers, who, assuming that it must have been devoted to the prince of darkness, elevated on it a rude cross, an emblem of that better faith which, at that moment, they had neither leisure nor means to establish.*

Wallis' visit to Tahiti.

Fully a century and a half had passed away before that beautiful island was again visited by a European, in the person of Captain Wallis, who, while prosecuting a voyage of discovery, reached its shores about the middle of June, in the year 1767. In the intercourse which took place with the inhabitants, the usual scenes occurred. On the one side was an unbounded curiosity, accompanied with an irrepressible propensity to theft, and, on the other, a becoming vigilance lest danger should be sustained by the ship or men from a sudden attack on the part of the savages. It is true that musketry and great guns possessed an incalculable advantage over stones and wooden missiles; but the superiority of numbers was so immense on the side of the assailants that no precaution could be deemed unjustifiable. After a brisk war, in which the simple people sustained a severe

* Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. xxi. p. 90. In the volume now cited, entitled "An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe," the reader is supplied with ample details illustrating the progress of maritime discovery in those parts of the world. Hence we purposely confine ourselves to such an outline as may recall the recollection of the principal facts and dates.

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loss in life and property, peace was established on a firm basis; an active barter was carried on between them and the sailors; and at length, after a stay of nearly six weeks, they retired, leaving a variety of animals and mechanical instruments, highly useful to their hosts.

Bougainville's visit.

In the spring of next year, Bougainville, the celebrated discoverer, spent eight days at Otaheite. He was delighted with the beauty of its hills and valleys, as well as with the mild behaviour of the natives. The verdure of its swelling acclivities, the cool shades afforded by its groves, and the pleasant associations connected with its grassy plains and murmuring rivulets, fascinated the imagination of the French commander, who exhausts all the power of language in attempting to express his emotions. Fifteen months after his departure, Captain Cook arrived, having on board several scientific gentlemen, who had been selected to observe the transit of Venus across the solar disc. In the course of this voyage, he discovered Tethuroa, Huaheine, Raiatea, Otaha, Bolabola, Maurua, and Rurutoo. On two subsequent occasions, he visited Otaheite and some other of the Society Islands; from one of which Omai, the young savage, whose history has touched so many hearts, and awakened the sweetest notes of poetry, was conveyed to England.

Character of the Tahitians.

Ever since that great navigator visited these islands, a deep interest has been felt in the welfare of the inhabitants, whose gentle manners seem to compensate for their questionable morality, and whose docile tempers promised an ample reward for whatever pains might be bestowed upon their instruction. It was manifest that, if their knowledge of European power and science were not to be extended beyond the casual acquaintance supplied by the residence of voyagers, they had sustained an injury by their intercourse with our seamen and philosophers. Having proved the superior advantages of iron tools, they were disposed to neglect their own less perfect instruments. The stock they received could neither be replenished nor repaired; and, despising their bone-knives and stone-axes, they could not fail to consider

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themselves in a more destitute state than before they had learned, from comparison, the extent of their wants. As their vales and mountains were found to produce little which could excite the cupidity of the trader, or gratify the ambition of the statesman, they were about to be abandoned to their primitive seclusion, when a spirit of philanthropy arose in England, which resolved that some effort should be made to improve their condition, to raise them in the scale of intellectual existence, and to rescue them from the bondage of a degrading idolatry.

Exertions of England on their behalf.

Between the years 1779, when the great discoverer lost his life, and the spring of 1797, when the Duff reached the shores of Otaheite, several ships, public as well as private, visited the South Sea Islands. The names of Dixon, Portlock, Edwards, Vancouver, La Perouse, and Marchand, will occur to every reader, as those of distinguished commanders who had occasion to enter the ports of Otaheite, Eimeo, and Raiatea; but he will not find in their pages any proof that the acquaintance with European manners, previously communicated to the natives, had been productive of the slightest advantage in regard to their temporal comfort, the enlargement of their thoughts, or the purification of their religious feelings. In 1792, the Dædalus store-ship had followed Vancouver to Nootka Sound, and was thence despatched, under the direction of Lieutenant Hanson, to Port Jackson, in New South Wales. In her way thither she stopped a fortnight at Otaheite, where the crew were treated with the utmost friendship. Two of them deserted, one of whom was recovered by the contrivance of a chief, who advised the commanding-officer to detain himself until the man should be sent back by the people of the island. The other runaway was a Swede, named Peter, who, being allowed to remain, afterwards rendered himself notorious by the part which he acted against the missionaries.

Visit of the Dædalus.

No change for the better was observed among the natives. While in some respects the humanity and prudence of our navigators are worthy of all praise, it

has been lamented, that, in various points of view, they appear to have derived from the profession of Christianity no superiority whatever to the heathen among whom they sojourned. The morals of the inhabitants had become more depraved from their intercourse with them during the ten preceding years; various diseases, either unknown to the island, or recognised only in a modified form, had carried deformity and death among every class of society; and these evils were not diminished by any improvement in the conduct of their chiefs, whose intemperance, while it was encouraged by a larger supply of intoxicating liquors, received no check from the example of their civilized visitors. It may therefore be believed, that there is little exaggeration in the details given by the first christian teachers, who, in depicting the depravity of the Otaheitans, exhaust all the terms of reproach which St Paul employed when denouncing the crimes of the Greeks and Romans.

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Mischiefs done by British seamen

In March 1797, a body of missionaries landed from the Duff, having previously performed divine service on board in the presence of about forty of the natives. During sermon and prayer they appeared quite thoughtful; but when the singing struck up they seemed charmed and filled with amazement. "Sometimes they talked and laughed, but a nod of the head brought them to order." Two Europeans presented themselves, from whom some important intelligence was obtained respecting the principal persons on the island, as well as in regard to the political changes which had recently taken place. Both the individuals now mentioned were Swedes, namely, Peter Haggerstein, already noticed, and Andrew Lind, who was a native of Stockholm. They informed the strangers that Otoo, recently king, having transferred his power and title to his son, had assumed the appellation of Pomare; and that in a contest, about twenty months before, with the chief of the southern part of the island, he had triumphed so completely as to establish his dominion over the whole. It was also stated, that the sovereign of Eimeo being dead, he further laid

Landing of missionaries from the Duff.

CHAP. IV. claim to the government, and, after several battles, had made good his pretensions by force of arms.

Captain Wilson took an early opportunity of informing the young king, through Peter who acted as interpreter, that the only inducement for leaving Britain to pay him this visit, was to do his subjects good by instructing them in the best and most useful things, and that for an end so important, some pious men intended to settle among them. On their part, he requested the gift of a piece of land sufficiently stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and admit of houses being built upon it. He stated, that they would not, on any account, intermeddle in wars, nor employ their arms but for self-defence; and, if permitted to live unmolested on such terms, they would remain on the island, if not, they would forthwith take their departure to another station. His majesty whose comprehension seemed not fully to embrace the terms in which these proposals were expressed, assured them that they should have a house on shore, and as much ground as their necessities or even their pleasures might require.*

The settling of the missionaries.

After the Duff left the island, the missionaries devoted themselves in earnest to their appointed work; arranging their plans for constant and persevering labour. In their first endeavours, they were encouraged by the king and queen, and even by the high-priest Hamanemane, who generously supplied their wants, so far as the productions of their country could afford the means. The daily occupations of the teachers, those of them especially who followed some mechanical trade, kept the curiosity of the natives in a high state of excitement. The erection of a sawpit, and the cutting of a tree into a number of boards, filled them with delight. But when the forge was erected, and the anvil first employed, their gratification was only equalled by their wonder.

Commencement of their operations.

* Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the Ship Duff, p. 63.

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The whole process of working iron, the flying of the sparks, the hissing when plunged into water, created astonishment in their simple minds. Nor were they less pleased than surprised at the facility with which a bar of iron was converted into adzes, hatchets, spears, and fishing-hooks.

Enthusiasm of Pomare

It is related that Pomare went into the shop one day when the smith was at work, and after gazing with ecstasy for some time, was so overcome with wonder and delight, that he caught up the artisan in his arms, and disregarding the soiled state of his person and clothes, most cordially embraced him, even to the extent of rubbing noses. But the missionaries did not devote all their time to such pursuits, however beneficial. While the labours of the sawyer, the carpenter, and smith, were gradually raising them in the estimation of the people, they failed not to consecrate several hours every day to the acquisition of the native languages. At stated times they met together for the purpose of comparing the knowledge they had collected from their professional communications with the inhabitants, and of assisting one another in their arduous undertaking. The importance of their object encouraged them to persevere, and the difficulties became less formidable as they advanced, though for many years these were so great as to require the most sedulous application. One of them, who at length succeeded in making considerable acquirements in the various tongues of the Pacific, has frequently acknowledged that he was ten years in Otaheite before he understood the precise meaning of some of the words even of the most frequent occurrence.*

Formidable difficulties.

While their familiar intercourse with the people augmented their knowledge of vocables, it added likewise to the perception of the formidable obstacles which they had to encounter in their attempt to reform their manners or improve their religious sentiments.†

* Missionary Records (12mo, London), p. 97.

† It may be proper to mention, that the missionaries, upon

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Appointment of a human sacrifice.

A few days after Captain Wilson set sail, Pomare sent for the high-priest to offer a human sacrifice at a great convocation of the chiefs. Hamanemane pretended some reluctance, but said, he feared the anger of the king if he should refuse obedience, and requested that some of the missionaries should accompany him; suggesting that his majesty would not insist upon it in the presence of those to whom he had solemnly promised to abolish the custom. As this was considered a favourable opportunity for bearing their testimony in the name of the true God against the frequent murders which were perpetrated in the name of religion, two of the Englishmen consented to go with the priest. On their journey they spent a Sunday in the district of Atahuru, where one of them read an address in the native language, which, he remarks, the audience seemed to understand, but did not show any desire to be instructed in the gospel. In reference to what he observed when amongst them, he says, "the more I see of the temper, customs, and conduct of this people, the more I am confirmed in the opinion that I have some time formed, that our success will not be speedy. The Lord, however, can remove all obstacles, but we are not to expect it out of the ordinary way."*

Prevention of this by the missionaries.

On this occasion the brethren appear to have succeeded in preventing a sacrifice being offered to the demon of superstition. Towards the close of the year, however, the high-priest gave them notice that Pomare had killed

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approaching the scene of their future labours, divided themselves into three portions, to serve respectively in the Society Islands, the Friendly, and the Marquesas. Those destined for Otaheite were the following:—

Rev. J. F. Cover.	Mr S. Clode.	Mr F. Oakes.
John Eyre.	J. A. Gillham.	J. Puckey.
John Jefferson.	Wm. Henry.	Wm. Puckey.
Thomas Lewis.	P. Hodges.	Wm. Smith.
Mr H. Bicknell.	R. Hassall.	To these were added five women and two children, making in all 25 individuals.
B. Bromhall.	E. Main.	
J. Cock.	H. Nott.	

* Missionary Records, p. 99.

a man contrary to his promise, but that as he had refused to offer the victim to his god, the corpse was decently interred instead of being cut in pieces, after the usual fashion. The reason of this atrocious barbarity was a dream in the night, when, it was said, the divinity presenting himself to the king, commanded him to immolate a human being on the pain of his greatest displeasure. Resolved to obey this supernatural injunction, his majesty seized the first person he saw in the morning suitable for his purpose, and without hesitation deprived him of life.

Great assembly of the natives at Pare.

In the beginning of 1798, intelligence reached the missionaries that a general assembly of the natives was about to be held in the contiguous district of Pare. Considering it a fit opportunity for laying before the chiefs certain matters of great importance to the object of their enterprise, as christian ministers among the heathen, they despatched six of their number to the meeting, with authority to urge upon the leaders the necessity of paying attention to the sacred instruction now communicated to their people, and to point out to them the benefit that would result to the community from a knowledge of the mechanical arts. They were farther desired to inform them, that in all countries where the word of God is known, the worship of idols, as well as the offering of human sacrifices, are altogether abolished, and that murder, with other crimes equally heinous, are punished with death. It was also suggested that they should entreat the chiefs to use their utmost endeavour to put a stop to the horrible practice of infanticide, which, while it offended Jehovah, tended to the final extirpation of their race; assuring them that the missionaries would fulfil the promises formerly made, to build a house for the reception of all the children who should be saved from destruction, and confer upon them the blessings of a European education.

Vain effort to influence them.

On the 10th of January, the deputies proceeded on their errand of mercy; but soon found that the riotous festivity of the scene was quite incompatible with the

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discharge of any religious duty or pious remonstrance. They were afterwards more successful at a meeting held in the vicinity of Matavai, where, through the medium of Peter the Swede, they made known their wishes to the chief counsellors, who promised that no more infants should be destroyed. But such concessions were too frequently made with no other view than to deceive the christian teachers or to abate their importunity, and were remembered no longer than suited the convenience of the rulers. A similar remark may be applied to the facility with which they granted land and other property. When, for example, the application already noticed was addressed to Pomare and his son for a piece of ground, the wishes of the strangers were met to the fullest extent. The whole district of Matavai was ceded to them, though all that they ever desired was the secure occupation of the land on which their houses and gardens were situated. But, in point of fact, the territory was never held as belonging to the mission; it was claimed and even possessed by the original owners; and no portion was yielded to the visiters except the sandy spot on which their buildings were erected.*

Concessions made to the missionaries.

After spending ten months in Otaheite, the missionaries could say, "thus are we brought to the conclusion of another year, the principal part of which was spent among rude and barbarous heathen; and notwithstanding the fears which are inseparable from our situation, and the dangers that surround us, hitherto our God has not suffered any one to do us any real hurt." But an event was now at hand which put their faith and steadfastness to a more severe trial than they had yet endured. On the 6th March, the anniversary of the day on which the Duff had arrived at Matavai, a ship was announced to be approaching the shore. On reaching the mouth of the harbour her progress was stopped, when it was

Continued protection amid dangers.

* See Ellis, vol. ii. p. 8. The house which Pomare bestowed upon the missionaries was the large one called by the natives the Fare Beritane (British House), which they had built for Captain Bligh.

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learned by some of the English who went on board, that it was the Nautilus of Macao, commanded by Mr Bishop. Originally destined to engage in the fur-trade on the north-western coast of America, she had been compelled by stress of weather to relinquish the object of her voyage, and proceed to Masafuera. In pursuance of this intention, the captain touched at the Sandwich Islands, whence he carried away two Englishmen and seven natives, whom he proposed to land at the port just mentioned; and on his way thither he designed to visit the Marquesas, either for supplies or with the view of commerce. He was again defeated by the prevalence of currents or contrary gales, which made it necessary for him to direct his course towards Otaheite, where he arrived in great want of provisions as well as of other necessaries.

Arrival of the Nautilus.

In return for the food, of which his crew as well as passengers stood in need, Mr Bishop had nothing to offer except muskets and ammunition, commodities on which the natives set a high value, but which the missionaries determined they should not obtain in their present circumstances. The brethren, therefore, resolved to supply the Nautilus to the utmost extent of their own means rather than permit a traffic that could not fail to encourage the love of war, which still glowed very powerfully in the breasts of the inhabitants. This measure, however prudent, considered with reference to the untamed population of the island, appears to have given great offence to some of those in whose hands the safety of the foreigners continued to rest. The first indication of this change of feeling is contained in an entry of the journal kept at the mission-house: "Pomare, Idia, and Otoo are at Opare; they neither visit us nor the ship, nor send any food to the vessel." It happened at the same crisis that five of the natives who had been induced to leave the Sandwich Isles deserted from the Nautilus and took shelter in the house of the king, which, being held sacred, could not be approached with any appearance of violence or constraint. The monarch, too, on his part,

Traffic in muskets.

CHAP. IV. finding that Captain Bishop required an additional quantity of provisions, issued an order which had the effect of disappointing him, and, at the same time, of frustrating the benevolent intention of the preachers.

Desertion of two of the crew.

The irritation which dictated such an unusual stretch of power was still farther increased by the flight of two other sailors from the same ship, who also abstracted a boat belonging to her. The commander, in a letter to their friends ashore, expressed his firm determination to recover the men, in defiance of every hazard which might present itself. The missionaries, sympathizing with them in their difficulties, and desirous to prevent the mischiefs which might arise from the residence of so many dissolute persons in the island, deputed four of their number to the king, begging that he would send the deserters on board. The result of this visit was most unfortunate, and produced an effect on the christian establishment which greatly altered its aspect and operations, until, for a time, it was entirely suspended. When they reached the residence of Otoo, they perceived that the Sandwich islanders were among his attendants, a circumstance which increased their suspicion that he likewise favoured the concealment of the seamen. After waiting some time in expectation that Pomare himself would appear at the house of his son, they proceeded in search of the elder sovereign; but they had scarcely walked a mile, when, on approaching the margin of a river, they were suddenly seized by a number of natives, who stripped them, dragged two of them through the stream, attempted to drown them, and even threatened them with a more instant murder. Upon recovering from this unexpected struggle, they found themselves in a most pitiable condition, being deprived of their clothing, and severely bruised. When the king was questioned by his father in regard to this assault, he made a brief reply in his own defence; yet there is reason to believe that though he may not have actually commanded the outrage, he was at least privy to the intention of inflicting it.

The missionaries are embroiled and attacked.

There was no difficulty in sounding the motives of

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The warlike intentions of the king.

the young monarch. He had resolved to make a conquest of the whole island, and, at the same moment, to deprive his parent and brothers of all share in the public authority. To accomplish this object muskets and gunpowder were of the greatest consequence to him, as also the aid of the Europeans who had taken shelter at his court. By furnishing supplies to the Nautilus the missionaries had prevented his agents from obtaining the very arms and ammunition by means of which he had hoped to extend his sovereignty; and now they appeared in his presence to demand the individuals on whose skill, as warriors, he placed his chief reliance. It was therefore in vain for Pomare to insist that the refugees should be delivered up to the captain; they themselves expressed a fixed resolution to remain, and one of them declared, that "if they take me on board again, they shall take me dead."

Eleven of the missionaries resolve to depart.

As the violence to which the four missionaries had been exposed was accompanied with menaces against their whole body, it is not surprising that their courage should have been somewhat shaken. Indeed, the impression produced upon the society at Matavai was such that eleven of them, including four who were married, considered a removal from the island a part of their duty; and as the captain, on whose account they had incurred the danger, offered a passage to such of them as were desirous to migrate to Port Jackson, they made preparations for their departure.

Intelligence that the teachers were about to withdraw soon reached the ears of the people, among whom, generally, it produced a feeling of deep regret. Pomare, who was much distressed, used every effort to persuade them to stay, promising whatever might conduce to their convenience, and assuring them of protection. His sorrow was greatly alleviated when he found that six of their number, one of whom had a wife, intended to remain. Nor did he conceal from these resolute men that their fears were not altogether without foundation: on the contrary, he confessed that he had been frequently urged

CHAP. IV. by the unprincipled foreigners who lived on the island, including Peter their interpreter, to murder the whole body and seize their property.*

Letter from the remaining missionaries.

In a letter addressed to the Missionary Society, after the departure of their brethren to New Holland, they write as follows:—"Experience has taught us, the more we are encumbered about worldly things, the less concern we have for the conversion of the heathen; and the more we are detached from secular employments, the more, we trust, our minds will be attached to the propagation of the gospel. Otaheite affords food and raiment suitable to the climate, and sufficient to answer the great end of Providence in granting us these blessings; and, having these things, we hope the Lord will teach us to be content. We deem it needful to inform the directors, that it appears to us, at present, a reinforcement of this island with a body of missionaries, consisting of men, women, and children, and furnished after the manner of ourselves when we quitted our native country in the ship Duff, would nothing forward the work of God on Otaheite or the adjacent islands; but if four or six christian men, void of worldly encumbrances, will be willing to hazard their lives for the sake of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the conversion of the heathen, and led by the Eternal Spirit, forsake all and follow us, we shall glory, if spared to give them the right hand of fellowship."

Devotedness of these missionaries.

Though reduced in number, and not a little discouraged by the indifference of the people among whom they laboured, the six individuals, Bicknell, Harris, Lewis, Eyre, Jefferson, and Nott, who signed this communication to the Society in London, continued to instruct such of the natives as would listen to them, and prepare themselves for future exertions. Exposed to constant depredations, and even menaced with death, they persevered in the study of the Otaheitan language, reducing it to a regular orthography, and unfolding the principles of its

* Missionary Records, p. 115.

construction. Pomare, though he valued their mechanical skill much more highly than their religion or grammatical researches, considered it his duty to protect them from open violence, and to punish the thieves by whom their property was invaded. He made some compensation to them for the injuries they had sustained in the late assault, and even ravaged part of the district where the offenders dwelt, fifteen of whom were deprived of life by his command. But, nevertheless, they could not shut their eyes to the fact, that though the chief, with the view of promoting certain temporal objects, favoured their pretensions, the inhabitants in general treated them with less respect, and showed an increasing disinclination to listen to their admonitions. Every day exhibited new and appalling proofs of the deplorable immorality which prevailed on all sides; darkening the prospect, at no time bright, of planting the gospel among tribes in whose eyes the interests of eternity possessed no value. At the same moment, reports were circulated which greatly increased the apprehension of the missionaries. It was rumoured that the principal men were in a short time to proceed to the neighbouring island ot Eimeo, and that, prior to their expedition, they meant to burn the house in which the teachers resided.

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How they were treated by king and people.

Towards the close of 1798, these devoted persons were farther alarmed by the renewal of war in the district of Matavai. The whole country was devastated with unrelenting fury; and the natives, abandoning their little property to the lawless plunderers by whom they were invaded, sought safety by fleeing to the mountains. The Swede, aided by one of the sailors who had deserted from the Nautilus, had an active share in this evil work, having lent themselves to the vindictive feelings of Otoo, who seemed to entertain a grudge against his father, whose influence, though he had descended from the throne, was still considerable. In the midst of these commotions, Hamanemane, the high-priest, was murdered, with the connivance if not by the positive order of the king. It is true, he punished with death the per-

Breaking out of war.

CHAP. IV. petrators of the crime, a proceeding which could not be easily reconciled with the supposition that he had authorized the commission of it: but say the missionaries, "we have seen so much of him since, that we believe he is capable of committing any wickedness which the devil, his own carnal mind, and his blood-thirsty followers may excite him to."*

Death of Mr. Lewis. This event was soon followed by the death of Mr Lewis, one of their own body, who is supposed to have been murdered, and by the departure of Mr Harris for New South Wales, who, availing himself of the opportunity afforded by the arrival of an English ship, proceeded to that colony. By means of another vessel, which, about the same period, left Port Jackson, letters were received from a clergyman stationed at that town, accompanied by one addressed by Governor King to Pomare, whose warlike schemes tended not a little to disturb his son's dominions, and to frustrate the benevolent designs of the English residents. "I cannot too much recommend to your majesty's kind protection the society of missionaries whom you have taken under your care, which cannot fail of exciting their gratitude and King George's friendship, which I shall always be happy in

Letter of Governor King to Pomare.

* Missionary Records, p. 127. At this period the king was exceedingly unfriendly to the missionaries. In one of their letters they narrate, "Otoo also absented himself from our habitation to-day, but has given us another specimen of his despotism and ingratitude, by plundering us of several hogs and other articles." They add, "our knowledge in the language of Tahiti is growing, and we look forward with a pleasing hope to a period when we shall speak it fluently." It is proper to mention that, according to Mr Ellis, Otoo was not altogether responsible for the death of Hamanemane. It appears that during the absence of Pomare in the island of Eimeo, the priest formed a league with the king to deprive the father of all authority in Otaheite. Hence originated the attack on the people of Matavai, when the inhabitants, unable to withstand the monarch and his sacred ally, fled for their lives to the hills. Pomare, enraged at this outbreak, sent private instructions to his consort Idia for his assassination. After some solicitation from his mother, the king, though in the closest alliance with Hamanemane, consented to his death.—Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 35.

announcing to you." The kind notices, we are assured, greatly strengthened Pomare's influence with the other chiefs, and operated as a salutary check upon the profligate seamen who were perpetually fomenting divisions and wars among them.

Reinforcement of the missionaries.

Aware that a reinforcement had become absolutely necessary to the christian labourers in the Georgian Islands, the Society in London, at a public meeting held on the 7th August 1798, resolved, that the directors be authorized to employ a ship for the purposes of supplying the brethren, who have settled in the Pacific Ocean, with assistance in their labours; of adding to their number, where circumstances may render it necessary; and of planting the gospel in other islands of that ocean, where it shall appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances.

The Duff was again selected for the objects now stated, and made ready for sea; but, when she approached the shores of South America, an enemy hove in sight, Le Grand Buonaparte, a French privateer, which carried thirty missionaries, their wives and families, as prisoners into Rio Janeiro, whence they were ultimately conveyed to Europe. During the two successive years, the affairs of Otaheite were at a low ebb. The natives, who still turned a deaf ear to the gospel, were attacked by a destructive epidemic, which swept a great number of them away, "their bodies wasted with disease, and their souls hurried into eternity in a state of the utmost insensibility." In the summer of 1801, a vessel, called the Royal Admiral, arrived from England, having eight preachers on board. On being landed, they were introduced to Pomare, who received them courteously, and with an appearance of great satisfaction; but it is admitted by those who witnessed the scene, that the only advantage he expected was the aid of their arms to intimidate his enemies, and to render his government more secure. They had carried with them many useful seeds and plants, on the culture of which they expended much care. Among these the vine, the fig, and the peach-tree

Pomare's reception of them.

CHAP. IV. seemed to thrive well, and might have added to the wealth of the islanders, had not a war ensued, in the course of which they were all destroyed.

Renewed hostilities. The hostile rising now mentioned was occasioned by the refusal of the people of Atahuru to deliver Oro, the great national idol, into the hands of Pomare and his son the king. Several conflicts took place, with various success, between the rebels and the royal troops, which could not fail to carry dismay into the hearts of the missionaries. Meanwhile, the arrival of two trading ships on the coast added to their body twenty-three Englishmen, who, finding themselves exposed to a common enemy, united with them for self-defence. Under one of the captains they checked the progress of the disaffected, who, deprived of their god, fought with the utmost fury. The mission-house was converted into a garrison; the enclosures of the garden were destroyed, and the bread-fruit trees were cut down, that they might not afford shelter to the enemy. With similar views, their chapel was also demolished. Defences at the mission-house. A strong paling was planted round the building; boards covered with nails were sunk in the paths leading to it; and thither the seamen retired in company with their spiritual allies, having learned that the next attack would be made upon them. Four brass cannon were fixed in two of the upper rooms, and all the inmates of the dwelling were placed under arms so far as the number of muskets would admit. These preparations produced the effect contemplated by the naval officers. The house was not actually attacked; and as Rua, the chief of the insurgents, was killed in a skirmish, an armistice followed, though without the formalities of a regular treaty.*

To profit by the improving condition of the country, some of the brethren proceeded into the interior, for the purpose of preaching the gospel. But the unreflecting people, who were not yet prepared to listen to its glad sound, inflicted upon their mild instructors various kinds

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 59.

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of annoyance. They frequently refused to give any attendance whatever; and at other times, when they did assemble, they either talked all the while about the dress, complexion, or features of the missionaries, or tried to provoke them by base insinuations as to the object of their visit. They also endeavoured to excite the mirth of their companions by ludicrous gestures, or low witticisms on the statements that were made. It was no uncommon practice to bring dogs or fighting cocks, and let them loose at each other, so as completely to withdraw the attention of the audience. On some occasions, while the preachers were occupied with the most earnest exhortations, a band of areois might happen to pass, who, commencing their exhibitions, were sure to attract every one of the inconsiderate congregation. At such times, as is remarked by one of their number, those who had stood round the missionary only to insult him by their reproaches, ridicule him by their vulgar wit, or afflict his mind by their total indifference to the important truths he was declaring, have instantly formed a circle for the strolling players, and gazed on their pantomimic indecencies with the greatest pleasure.*

Mockery of the missionaries' instructions.

A circumstance not less unfavourable to the propagation of the christian religion was the impression made on the minds of the ignorant heathens, that a mortal disease, then prevailing in the island, was inflicted by Jehovah, who was supposed to be offended by their neglect of his worship. They did not scruple to tell the brethren that their God was killing the people; threatening, that when Oro once more gained the ascendency, the preachers, in their turn, should feel the effects of divine wrath.†

Superstitious alarm about a disease.

* Ellis, vol. ii. p. 62.

† Hitherto the labours of the missionaries had been confined to Otaheite; but, in December 1802, Mr Bicknell, accompanied by Mr Wilson, made a voyage to Eimeo, and, travelling round it, preached the unsearchable riches of Christ to its inhabitants, many of whom appeared to listen with earnestness, and desired to be more fully instructed.

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Death of Pomare.

In 1803, Pomare the First died suddenly, and without any apparent cause; an event which was generally ascribed to his violent seizure of the great idol, and to the forcible means by which he retained possession. This chief, who possessed more than the ordinary share of vigour and penetration, was a patriotic ruler, brave in the field of battle, and devoted to the improvement of his country. He at no time professed belief in the new religion, having a vague idea that it could not successfully establish itself in the islands of the Pacific until Jehovah should appear in person to vindicate its claims. Being asked on one occasion if he understood what a preacher had stated, he replied, "there were no such things before in Otaheite; and they were not to be learned at once, but that he would wait the coming of the god." Shortly before his demise, he recommended the missionaries to the protection of his son, though the more he understood the chief object of their pursuit, the deeper was the aversion he manifested to it. To the favour of the native deities he considered himself entitled for the greatness to which his family had attained; and if the English instructors would have allowed the claims of Oro and Tané to receive an equal degree of attention with what they claimed for Jesus Christ, he would readily have admitted the Redeemer to a place among the national divinities. But when required to renounce all dependence upon the idols of his ancestors, and to acknowledge Jehovah alone as the true God, he at once rejected their message. Nor did his death in any degree alter the condition of things. On the contrary, it rather tended to confirm the people in their superstition; for on the occasion of a religious ceremony, when his spirit was invoked, it was declared that he was seen by Idia, his wife, and by one of the priests. To the latter it was said he appeared above the waters of the sea, having the upper part of his person bound with many folds of finely braided cinet.

Effects of this on the people.

Otoo assumed the name which his father had adopted, as a whim, from being seized with a cough one night

that he passed in the open air.* His majesty did not materially alter his line of conduct towards the missionaries, whom he had all along rather tolerated than encouraged. These patient men, nevertheless, persevered in their efforts to instruct all the children who were allowed to attend them, and to prepare their own minds for more extensive duties whenever an opportunity should occur for discharging them. As yet, all their labours were received with ridicule, and rewarded with scorn. Early in 1805, they printed a catechism in the native alphabet, or rather adapted the Roman character, so far as was practicable, to the sounds in which the language of Otaheite was expressed. The king, fascinated with the power conferred by the pen and the press, became a diligent student; and delighted with his acquirements, he suggested to the brethren that they should build for him a small plastered house near their own, that he might attend to his writing uninterrupted by the avocations to which he was exposed at home.†

Perseverance of the missionaries.

But a crisis was at hand which for a time interrupted the labours of the mission, and threw Otaheite into great confusion. On the 6th of November 1807, a vast number of men appeared in arms, near Matavai, and Pomare,

A great insurrection.

* His tent, we are informed by Mr Ellis, was pitched in an exposed situation; a heavy dew fell among the mountains; he took cold, and the next morning was affected with a cough. This led some of his adherents to designate the preceding night by the appellation of po-mare, night of cough, from *po*, night, and *mare*, cough. The chief was pleased with the sound of the words thus associated, adopted them as his name, and was ever afterwards called Pomare. Vol. ii. p. 70.

† The letter of Pomare the Second to the Missionary Society in London is truly characteristic: "Friends, I wish you every blessing, friends, in your residence in your country, with success in teaching this bad land, this foolish land, this wicked land this land which is ignorant of good, this land that knoweth not the true God, this regardless land. Friends, I wish you health and prosperity, may I also live, and may Jehovah save us all! I wish you to send a great number of men, women, and children here. Friends, send also property, and cloth for us, and we also will adopt English customs. Friends, send also plenty of muskets and powder, for wars are frequent in our country, &c. &c. &c. (Signed) "POMARE, King of Tahiti."

CHAP. IV. apprehending that his camp, stationed in the neighbourhood, would be immediately attacked, recommended that the wives and children of the Europeans should take shelter on board a ship in the harbour. The next morning, a letter was addressed by the missionaries to the captain, begging that he would delay his departure forty-eight hours, that they might deliberate on the steps necessary to be taken. The king advised the married ones to leave the island; who, being unanimously of opinion that there was no prospect of usefulness, even should the rebels retire, and discouraged by the little success which had attended the exertions of so many years, resolved to remove. Four offered to remain with their royal pupil, that they might be on the spot should any favourable change occur; the others, with most of the Europeans who happened to be resident in the district, sailed from Otaheite to Huaheine, where they were hospitably received.

The missionaries advised to flee.

As the fortune of war turned against the king, he found it necessary to retreat to Eimeo, whither he was accompanied by the few preachers who had remained at Matavai. Finding that the door of usefulness was not likely to be soon opened again in the Georgian Islands, the refugees, in the course of the following year, determined to avail themselves of the first conveyance suitable for removing their households to Port Jackson. Accordingly, on the 26th October 1809, they embarked for New Holland, leaving only Mr Haywood, who chose to continue in Huaheine, and Mr Holt, who still resided with Pomare in Eimeo. It was already known, that after a victory gained by them in the previous December, the rebels had plundered the districts of Matavai and Pare, and, devoting every house to destruction, had reduced the whole country to a state of absolute desolation. The dwellings attached to the mission were ransacked and burnt; and whatever they were not able to carry off, they utterly wasted. Every implement of iron was converted into a weapon of war. The most valuable books were either committed to the flames, or distributed to

They embark for New Holland.

the warriors, for the purpose of making cartridges, and the printing types were converted into musket balls.* CHAP. IV.

This catastrophe was the occasion of deep sorrow and regret to many whose hopes had been fixed on a very different result. Seldom had any enterprise commenced under auspices more favourable, or that could promise more certain or speedy success to its authors; and yet, after the labours, sacrifice, and anxiety of twelve years, it arrived at a termination alike disastrous and fruitless. The missionaries had left their native land to save the remnant of an interesting people from destruction, and to promote their temporal as well as spiritual welfare. But, notwithstanding their utmost endeavours, they had seen the process of depopulation urged on with a fearful rapidity, by causes which, though they regretted them, they could neither diminish nor control; and amidst anarchy, bloodshed, and all the other horrors of barbarian warfare, they were ultimately driven from the field where they had trusted to gain a triumph for the gospel and the benign spirit of civilisation. There were many grounds to conclude that, during the time the mission had existed in Otaheite, the experiment of raising a savage people to the rank of a christian community had been tried and completely failed; and the result, according to the ordinary grounds of calculation, might be supposed to demonstrate the impropriety of expending more labour or money upon an object for the accomplishment of which it might be asserted that the time had not yet come.

Destruction of the mission.

But as the darkest hour of night is that which precedes the dawn of a new day, so the gloom now cast over the missionary cause was about to be followed by a brighter light than had yet shone upon their exertions in the South Sea. Pomare, who felt that when the European settlers left his shores, one of the principal means of improvement had been withdrawn from his people, no sooner saw affairs in a somewhat more settled

The crisis of disaster.

* Missionary Records, p. 173.

CHAP. IV

state, than, in the most earnest manner, he invited them to return. He was still, indeed, an exile in Eimeo, excluded from his paternal dominions, and, consequently, had less power than formerly either to protect them from danger, or to aid their endeavours for spreading civilisation among his subjects. It is doubtful, too, whether his favourable thoughts towards the christian brethren ought to be ascribed to his late reverses, and to an impression thereby produced in regard to the inefficacy of idol-worship for obtaining supernatural aid; or whether adversity did not lead him to reflect on the declarations he had so often heard respecting the true God, and to connect his present condition with a sinful life, of which he had not yet seriously repented. But whatever may have been the motive, there is no doubt that his fallen estate had subdued his spirit, and, at the same time, weakened the influence which his native superstition had till then exercised over his heart. In the autumn of 1811, the missionaries left their retreat in New Holland, and set sail for the Georgian Isles, the original scene of their labours. They joined the king in Eimeo, where they now established a school, and, so far as circumstances would permit, resumed their wonted course of instruction in public and in private.

Return of the missionaries.

It was not long before their pious efforts were rewarded by a signal triumph of the christian faith over the absurdities of idolatry. In July 1812, the king publicly professed his belief in Jehovah, and his desire to be baptized into the sublime doctrines and hopes revealed by the gospel. For some time he was observed to manifest a feeling of indifference towards the superstition of his ancestors; and his people, who watched this change with great anxiety, had their doubts removed by the following occurrence. A turtle was sent to him as a present, which being, according to the notions of the Otaheitans, a sacred animal, is always dressed with consecrated fire, within the precincts of a temple, and a portion offered to the image of the presiding deity. The attendants were proceeding to the marai with the gift,

Conversion of the king.

when he called them back, and told them to prepare an oven in his own kitchen, and to present it at his table without any oblation to the god. His servants, overwhelmed with astonishment and fear, obeyed the injunction; the turtle was baked, and served up at the very next repast. The royal household stood around in mute expectation that some fearful token of divine anger would be manifested so soon as he should partake of the impious feast. The king, after carving the dish, began to eat, inviting some who sat with him to do the same; but no one could be induced to touch the unhallowed meal, dreading that such a daring insult to the national divinity would be punished by a frightful death before the entertainment should be completed.

His contempt of idolatry.

By this act he loosened the hold whereby the false notions of early life had enthralled his own mind and the imaginations of his people, though a considerable time elapsed before the effect could be duly appreciated. When Pomare offered himself for baptism, he stated that he had endeavoured to persuade his father-in-law, and the King of Raiatea to renounce idolatry and become the disciples of Jesus Christ; but that in reply they had assured him, whatever he might do, they would adhere to Oro. Nor did he confine his exertions to private admonition. In public council he urged upon the two chiefs now mentioned the propriety of adopting the christian religion; manifesting at least his own sincerity, and also his determination to abide by the choice he thus openly vindicated.

Though the missionaries had good reason to believe that he was sincere in the desire he expressed to become a Christian, they resolved, before proceeding to the solemn rite of baptism, to wait for additional evidence of corresponding reformation in his conduct. They accordingly proposed that he should defer his formal initiation into the church until after receiving more ample instructions; an arrangement to which he acceded with a good grace, requesting that all necessary knowledge should be placed within his reach. He was soon recalled to

Delay of his baptism

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Otaheite, whither two of the brethren accompanied him; and although he was not immediately reinstated in his former power, he continued firm in his renunciation of idolatry, in observing the Lord's-day, and on every suitable occasion maintaining the superiority of the christian religion. His example produced a considerable effect on those placed within its immediate influence; but, on the other hand, his apostasy from the usages of his fathers created many enemies, who saw in the losses he had recently sustained a proof that he was abandoned by Heaven, and that the wrath of his family-gods would yet be poured out more fully upon him. Pomare, nevertheless, continued steadfast, despised the ridicule with which he was assailed, and prepared himself to defend his new principles in the presence of the assembled chiefs.*

Effects of his conversion.

The little leaven had previously been deposited among the dry meal, and, in 1813, a fermentation began which proceeded to leaven the whole lump. Two or three individuals, who had either lived at the missionary station, or near the person of the king, began to inquire into the grounds of the new faith, in order to satisfy their own minds, and direct their worship into the proper channel. At length, without any professional teacher to guide them, they agreed to form among themselves a meeting for prayer, which they held on the first day of the week. Referring to his majesty, one of the preachers writes from Eimeo,—"he is still in Otaheite, and exposed to many and strong temptations: however, his example in public, in renouncing the idol gods and the religion of his country, and declaring his conviction of the truth, superiority, and excellence of our religion, has had a powerful influence on the morals of many, both there and in this island. Convictions stifled years ago, and instructions,

Testimony respecting him

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 99. In one of his letters the king writes:—"I continue to pray to God without ceasing. Regardless of other things, I am concerned only that my soul may be saved by Jesus Christ. It is my earnest prayer that I may become one of Jehovah's people; and that God may turn away his anger from me, which I deserve for my wickedness, my ignorance of him, and my accumulated crimes."

as we thought, entirely thrown away, seem now to take effect. There is a stir among the people; many doubt and waver, many examine and inquire; in short, we have witnessed within the past six months what we did not expect, and scarcely hoped to see, in our time. We have cause for praise and thankfulness; we have cause to rejoice; yet we rejoice with trembling, lest some of our present expectations should not be realized; and we have no doubt that what we have now to communicate will excite the prayers and thanksgivings of many in our behalf, as also in behalf of these poor islanders."*

Progress of the gospel.

In the month of September, the number of converts was forty-two; and as there was now a demand for books, the missionaries exerted themselves to procure copies of several elementary treatises, both in literature and theology. Having as yet no press, they found it necessary to send their manuscripts to Sydney, with the view of being printed; an inconvenience from which they were shortly afterwards relieved. Meanwhile, as several of the chiefs espoused the christian cause, the principles of the gospel were every where received with greater respect, and regarded more closely as the rule of life. But the idolatrous party were not blind to the events which were taking place throughout all the islands in the neighbourhood of Otaheite. Urged by their priests, and encouraged by some of the more powerful leaders, they assembled in arms, resolved to oppose the return of the king, when finally recalled from Eimeo; and, accordingly, in the end of November 1815, they made preparations to attack the Christians while engaged in the most solemn service of their religion. When the officiating minister was about to proceed, a firing of muskets was heard, and immediately after, a large body of men was seen advancing. A battle ensued, in which the pagans seemed at first to have the advantage; but their champion being slain, a general rout followed, and Pomare found himself a conqueror in a field where no enemy remained

Opposition by the heathen.

* Missionary Records, p. 193.

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to dispute his claim to the entire sovereignty of his native dominions.

The royal army, flushed with success, were, as usual, preparing to pursue and destroy the fugitives, when the king commanded that no more blood should be shed. This forbearance had an astonishing effect on the minds of the vanquished. During the following night, they sent spies from their places of retreat, to learn what had become of their wives, children, and aged relatives; all of whom were discovered in perfect safety, undisturbed by their triumphant foe. The intelligence at first appeared to them quite incredible; but after some days, they ventured from the mountains, whither they had fled, and returned to their houses, in which they found their property secure, and their families uninjured. To the king, from whom they received assurances of pardon, they made haste to tender their submission, imploring his forgiveness for having taken arms against him. When Pomare gave directions to his people to destroy the idolatrous temple, he said, "go not to the little island where the women and children have been left for security; turn not aside to the villages or plantations; neither enter into the houses, nor destroy any property, but go straight along the high road, through all your late enemy's districts." The party thus commissioned, proceeded to their destination; and having entered the marai, they brought out the idol, stripped it of its sacred coverings and ornaments, and dashed it to the ground. It was a rude uncarved log, about six feet long. The altars were then broken down, the fanes demolished, and all the instruments of worship committed to the flames. The unshapely piece of wood, called by the natives the body of Oro, and through which they imagined the power of the god was exerted, was brought in triumph to Pomare's camp, fixed up as a post in the royal kitchen, and afterwards used for the meanest purposes. Upon witnessing this end of the principal divinity adored by the Otaheitans, and in whose cause many desolating wars had been waged, the most zealous devotees became con-

Clemency of the king.

Destruction of idols.

vinced of their delusion, and the people at large did not hesitate to declare that their gods had deceived them. CHAP. IV.

At this epoch idolatry may be said to have been abolished in the Georgian group, and the public mind delivered from a most degrading bondage. Private temples as well as those accounted national, were destroyed; the sacred images were treated with contempt; and even the least instructed of the inhabitants were ashamed to acknowledge a superstition which they saw every where repudiated. Messengers arrived, from time to time, deputed by influential chiefs, requesting that proper persons might be sent to teach them to read, and to instruct their dependants concerning the obedience required to the word of the true God. Schools were built, and places for public worship erected; the Lord's-day was piously observed; divine service regularly performed; and all the grosser abominations of the ancient ritual gradually fell into disuse. The missionaries who had fled returned to Otaheite, invited by the same people who formerly expelled them. From this period, their congregations often exceeded four hundred; the more intelligent among the catechumens were, at their religious meetings, requested to read a portion of Scripture; and some of them also wrote the prayers which they used in church.*

Abolition of idolatry.

Attendance on Christian ordinances.

* Mr Nott has given a translation of an excellent form of prayer used by Pomare on one of those occasions :—"Jehovah, thou God of our salvation, hear our prayers, pardon thou our sins, and save our souls. Our sins are great and more in number than the fishes in the sea; and our obstinacy has been very great and without parallel. Turn thou us to thyself, and enable us to cast off every evil way; lead us to Jesus Christ, and let our sins be cleansed in his blood. Grant us thy good Spirit to be our sanctifier. Save us from hypocrisy. Suffer us not to come into thine house with carelessness, and return to our own houses to commit sin. Unless thou have mercy upon us, we perish. Unless thou save us, unless we are prepared, and made meet for thy habitation in heaven, we are banished to the fire—we die; but let us not be banished to that unknown world of fire. Save us through Jesus Christ, thy Son, the Prince of Life; yea, let us obtain salvation through him. Bless all the inhabitants of these lands, the families thereof: let every one stretch

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Christianization of other islands.

In a brief space, the same spirit extended itself to the other islands situated towards the west. The principal chief publicly renounced idolatry, and embraced the gospel. His example was soon followed by others, especially by the rulers of Bolabola, who distinguished themselves by their zeal in removing every trace of their former superstition, as well as by building a house for the worship of the true God. In no respect was this change more conspicuous than in the pious observance of the first day of the week, the whole of which was devoted to religious duties and instruction. No fire was lighted, no food was cooked. The natives assembled for prayer about sunrise; the stated service took place somewhat later; and a portion of the forenoon was devoted to the schooling of the less advanced among the converts. It is true that, in some cases, the simple people attached an undue importance to mere abstinence from bodily labour, forgetting that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; and it is recorded, that one of them consented to lose his canoe rather than to remove it from the advancing tide. It is, indeed, readily admitted by their christian teachers, that only a very small number of those who were the most regular in observing the stated seasons of devotion, were influenced by a just feeling of the services in which they were engaged. With many it was but a customary engagement, which they supposed would lead God to regard them with favour; still there can be no doubt that the extent to which the habit prevailed must have been salutary in its general effects, leading their thoughts frequently to the subject of their prayers, and restraining them from the open indulgence of those sins from which they entreated their Maker that they might be delivered.

Character of the converts.

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out his hand to God, saying, Lord save me! Lord save me! Let all these islands, Otaheite, with all the inhabitants of Maurua, Huaheine, and of Raiatea, and of the little islands around, partake of thy salvation. Bless Britain and every country in the world. Let thy word grow with speed in the world, so as to exceed the progress of evil. Be merciful to us, and bless, for Jesus Christ's sake."—*Missionary Records*, p. 223

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Arrival of more missionaries.

In 1817, the South Sea mission received a valuable enlargement of its numbers by the arrival of eight individuals, devoted to the arduous labours of their vocation, including Mr Ellis, to whose various writings the cause of Christianity in those remote parts has been much indebted. He relates, that on the first Lord's-day he was in the island of Eimeo he assembled with the brethren at their prayer meeting, and afterwards attended the native service. "It had not commenced when I arrived at the place of worship, yet that and the enclosed ground around it were so crowded that I could scarcely gain an entrance. The service commenced by singing, when the praises of God were sounded by many of the native voices. So attentive were the hearers, so solemn and interesting the appearance of the congregation, such the emotions of pleasure excited in my mind, that I felt quite overcome.*

Setting up of a printing-press.

The missionary now named having, at the request of the directors in London, learned the art of printing, had carried out a press, with a suitable assortment of types, in order to furnish to the teachers in the several islands a supply of books. An office was built by the people, who now began to appreciate the value of even the small literary accomplishments which had been placed within their reach. The king, too, manifested a great interest in the proceeding; and to encourage him in the good work, he was invited to throw off the first sheet that was printed in his dominions. "Having been told how it was to be done, he jocosely charged his attendants not

* Missionary Records, p. 232. Mr Ellis, in his Researches, vol. ii. p. 207, remarks, that between five and six hundred native Christians were present. "Their persons were cleanly, their apparel neat, their countenances either thoughtful or beaming with serenity and gladness. The heads of the men were uncovered, their hair cut and combed, and their beards shaven. The appearance of the females was equally interesting; most of them wore a neat and tasteful bonnet, made with the rich yellow-tinted cocoa-nut leaf. Their countenances were open and lively; many had a small bunch of the fragrant and delicately white gardinia, or Cape jessamine flowers in their hair."

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to look very particularly at him, and not to laugh if he should not do it right. I put the printer's ink-ball into his hand, and directed him to strike it two or three times upon the face of the letters; this he did, and then placing a sheet of clean paper upon the parchment, it was covered down, turned under the press, and he was directed to pull the handle. He did so, and when the paper was removed from beneath the press, and the covering lifted up, the chiefs and assistants rushed towards it, to see what effect the king's pressure had produced. When they beheld the letters black and large, and well defined, there was one simultaneous expression of wonder and delight. Pomare took up the sheet, and having looked first at the paper and then at the types with attentive admiration, handed it to one of his chiefs, and expressed a wish to take another. He printed two more; and while he was so engaged, the first sheet was shown to the crowd without, who, when they saw it, raised one general shout of astonishment and joy."*

The king's experiment upon it.

Two thousand six hundred copies of a spelling-book were soon thrown off, being greatly wanted by the young pupils. Next followed a catechism, scriptural extracts, and a translation of the Gospel according to St Luke. Natives were forthwith instructed to perform the more laborious parts of the duty in the printing-office, for which they received regular wages; and though some obstacles presented themselves in a country where repairs could not be conveniently made, nor necessary wants supplied, the mechanical processes succeeded better than the most sanguine had expected. When we estimate the benefits which the South Sea Islanders have received from the circulation of books, and the advantages which future generations will derive from the establishment of the press, we cannot but regard the introduction of printing as a most auspicious event. The 30th of June 1817 was on this account an important day in the history of Otaheite: and there is no act of

The working of the printing-press.

* Researches, p. 221.

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Pomare's life, the abolition of idolatry excepted, which will be remembered with more grateful feeling than the circumstance of his printing the first page of the first book issued from the native press. The curiosity awakened in the inhabitants was not soon satisfied. His majesty himself paid daily visits; the chiefs attended at the windows and doors; while the populace, applying their eyes to every crevice through which a peep could be obtained, were often heard uttering involuntary exclamations, "O Britain, land of skill and knowledge!"*

The king's interest in it.

Nor was the benefit long confined to the island where the manufacture of books was first established. The important intelligence having reached that cluster which is known by the name of the Dangerous Archipelago, a deputation was sent to Eimeo for the purpose of procuring teachers and elementary treatises for their countrymen. The Otaheitans were wont to regard these neighbours as belonging to the lowest class of savages, and even as cannibals, speaking of them with the greatest contempt; but Pomare, respecting their motives, took them under his protection, and resolved to gratify their wishes to the utmost extent of his power. When some individuals from a similar tribe were admitted to see the operations of the press, their astonishment had no limits. At first they hesitated to approach it, and seemed doubtful whether they ought to consider it as an animal or a machine. Meanwhile the spirit of competition spread over all the Society Islands, and crowds flocked to the shores of Eimeo for books. The use of money being unknown to the greater part of the inhabitants, they brought as an equivalent portions of cocoanut oil in bamboo canes; and happy did they esteem themselves, if in return for the fruits of their industry they could obtain a volume, more especially a portion of the Sacred Scriptures. Many of them, it is admitted, were influenced by motives of mere curiosity, or by a desire to possess an article of property now highly

Desire of the people for books.

* Researches, vol. ii. p. 225.

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esteemed by all parties. Others perhaps viewed a page of letter-press on a religious subject as a charm, whereby the smiles of fortune might be secured, and the influence of evil spirits averted. But there is also reason to believe that not a few were actuated by a desire to become more fully acquainted with the revelation God had made to man, and to read for themselves, in their own language, those truths which were able to make them wise unto salvation.*

Mission to the Society Islands.

Encouraged by their success in Eimeo the missionaries resolved to extend their labours to the Society Islands, situated towards the west and north. Some time had been spent in preparing a vessel as well for the purposes of trade as for the convenience of their families when removing from one station to another; and in the month of December the Hawcis was launched in the presence of a vast multitude of the natives who rejoiced to see this addition made to their resources. Profiting by this conveyance, several of the brethren returned to Otaheite, the original scene of their toils and sufferings; some went to Huaheine, and others repaired to Raiatea, where an earnest desire was expressed for their appearance.

Its hearty reception.

Every where did the people receive them with gladness, render their utmost aid in the erection of houses and in the acquisition of their language, and even gave heed to their instructions, which were not altogether unattended with the Divine blessing. It is acknowledged, however, that with most of the lower class it was still a merely civil or political change; they renounced their

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* Mr Ellis relates, that "when the Gospel of Luke was finished, an edition of hymns in the native language was printed, partly original, and partly translations from our most approved English compositions; and although the book was but small, it was acceptable to the people, who are exceedingly fond of metrical compositions, their history and traditions having been preserved in a metrical kind of ballad. This circumstance rendered the hymn-book which was completed at Huaheine quite a favourite, and afforded the means not only of assisting in the matter of their praises to Almighty God, but enabled us to convey the most important truths of revelation in the manner most attractive and familiar to the native mind."

idols, and listened to the christian teachers, because their rulers did so, and wished them to follow the example. CHAP IV.

In truth, the chiefs had already perceived so many temporal advantages connected with Christianity, that they became desirous, on secular grounds alone, to extend its principles among their dependants. A meeting was accordingly held by them in May 1818, with the view of forming a voluntary association in aid of the society, and of organizing a system whereby they themselves might co-operate with the benevolent foreigners to whom they owed the first knowledge of the true religion. After a suitable discourse by one of the brethren, Pomare addressed the assembly in a forcible manner regarding the object he meant to advocate. He began by reminding them how much of their time was spent in worshipping idols, "what a deal of work they did for their false gods; the whole of their property consumed, their cloth, their pigs, their fish, their canoes, and all their strength and means were thrown away in the service of a piece of wood; even their own lives were sacrificed in hundreds. He had a subject to propose to them, which he thought it was right for them to agree to, and if they did, well; but if not, it was still good. He had to propose to them that they should collect a little property for assisting in spreading the gospel. He explained the means, says Mr Williams, by which we were brought here: it was by giving money to the captains of ships; for the natives think that we go on board a ship as they go on board of one another's canoes, and sail where we like. But the king told them it was not the case; on the contrary, that a great quantity of money was given to the captains before they would bring us. This, he informed them, was obtained from good people who wished the word of God to grow: all the little monies were collected into one big money, by which means they now enjoyed the blessings of the gospel, and he thought it right that they should use their endeavours to send the gospel to other lands, who still are as they themselves once were. He said, although they had no money, yet

Formation of a native auxiliary.

Pomare's account of the "ways and means."

CHAP. IV. they might give pigs, arrow-root, oil, and cotton to buy money with. He then alluded to the people of Africa, who collected elephants' teeth, or gave a sheep, and concluded by reading the rules of the society."*

Other native auxiliaries. Similar institutions were formed in other parts. The chief of Huaheine, who had attended the meeting in Eimeo, assembled his people at Fare, for the establishment of an auxiliary society for that island, and another politically connected with it. In September 1819, a similar association was formed in Raiatea, of which the King was named the president, and over the interests of which he watched with much diligence till his death. For many years these missionary institutions, being extremely popular, were liberally supplied; the first-fruits of which, sent to the parent funds, amounted to one thousand eight hundred and sixty pounds. They are still supported by the more pious portion of the community; and though the amount of subscriptions is now but inconsiderable, they keep before the minds of the people the great duty of seeking the salvation of others. By them, too, have been sent a number of native teachers, who, by preparing their way, have proved useful assistants to the more regular ministers, and still confer an incalculable advantage on the several islands where they are stationed.

Misrepresentation of the missionaries. But, as in all human arrangements, evil mixes with good, the necessity of directing the commercial transactions by which "money is bought," has exposed the preachers to the imputation of selfish motives. Even the rearing of the animals conveyed by the brethren to the several islands, because the meat and milk were sold, has been made the foundation for a similar charge. These commodities were not only of great service to their own families, but by furnishing ships with beef, they were farther enabled to procure in exchange necessary articles of European manufacture. It is confessed, however, by one of themselves, that "this, together with the mis-

* Missionary Records, p. 246. Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 268. Mr Ellis gives the speech at greater length and in better language; but the main topics are the same.

sionary's only mode of receiving support from the people, has been attended with some inconveniences; it has obliged him in his intercourse with those by whom he has been visited, to act more like a trader than he himself desired, or than he would otherwise have thought compatible with his office. The circumstance, however, may be considered as peculiar, and resulting from the present condition of the people, who are in the state of transition from barbarism to civilisation; these evils will of themselves cease as the improvement of society advances."*

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Peculiarity of their position.

It is manifestly to such circumstances that we must ascribe the unfriendly strictures on the missionary cause made by Kotzebue and other voyagers in the Pacific. The use of money is but partially introduced, and its relative value little understood; hence commerce, to a great extent, must be carried on by barter. The brethren, instead of receiving for the bills they draw on the Society an equivalent amount in coin, obtain from London cutlery, cottons, and other goods, with which they pay the natives who act as their labourers or domestic servants, and also purchase such things as they may require from the people. This likewise leads them to exchange the products which they themselves can raise for those foreign commodities that the masters of trading vessels are accustomed to take to the islands. The captains of ships were formerly in the habit of soliciting their aid in transacting business with the inhabitants; but although they were willing to render assistance, the evils resulting from their being thus made the medium of traffic were so numerous, that they found it expedient to decline the office altogether. Both parties on some occasions were dissatisfied; each complained of the ignorance or injustice of the negotiator; whence arose most of the charges circulated against the teachers in the country, and carried to

Inconveniences of their trading.

* Vindication of the South Sea Missions, p. 66. The apology made by Mr Ellis will be received as satisfactory by many who, nevertheless, regret that missionaries should ever become merchants.

CHAP. IV. Europe by persons who had neither time nor opportunity to investigate the truth.*

Extent of the gospel's triumph.

Nothing in the history of the human race can appear to the reflecting mind more gratifying or extraordinary than the establishment of a mission under the auspices of the chiefs in the islands of the South Sea for the propagation of the gospel. It may be granted that their notions of the christian system were far from being enlightened, while their motives unquestionably retained a strong mixture of earthly ingredients. That this was the case to a very considerable extent, is not concealed by their instructors, who, in reference more especially to the two clusters of the Society Archipelago, describe the religion of the greater part of the people as being at first merely nominal; and that at the time they assumed the profession of Christianity, they knew little more of it than that it enjoined the worship of one God instead of many, required no human sacrifices, no offering except prayer, and abstinence from labour every seventh day. The change applied almost solely to the outward observance, and had not yet reached either the decisions of the understanding or the feelings of the heart. Still it was a most important revolution, which must necessarily be followed by a movement in advance. Idolatry could not again resume its empire: the chain of the captive has been broken; and the appetite for new views both in human arts and divine knowledge would necessarily seek gratification at all hazards. The result corresponds in no small degree with this anticipation; the tree planted among them by the missionaries has brought forth fruit both good and evil; tares have grown up with the wheat, but the land is no longer a desert; and the ample produce denotes at least the inherent powers of the soil.†

It involved a social revolution.

Pomare II., though not remarkable either for taste or temperance, continued throughout his whole life to be

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* Ellis's Vindication, as above quoted.

† For the concession mentioned in the text, see Missionary Records, p. 249.

CHAP. IV.

an active instrument for extending the profession of the new faith among his subjects. Having heard of the temple of Jerusalem, the church of St Peter's at Rome, and the magnificent cathedrals which do so much honour to the piety of England, he resolved to have a similar erection in Otaheite. In point of extent at least his plan might vie with any structure in modern times, being more than seven hundred feet in length, and nearly sixty in width. The centre was supported by thirty-six massy pillars formed of wood; the sides or walls were boarded from the top to the bottom; and the lower end of the rafters on which the roof was laid rested on two hundred and eighty smaller posts. There were a hundred and thirty-three windows and twenty-nine doors. In the interior were three pulpits, about two hundred and sixty feet from each other; it was filled with forms or benches, except a small area in front of the pulpits, and the floor was carpeted with dry grass. The rafters were covered with a fine species of fringed matting, which, bound with cords of various colours in a very neat manner, gave to the roof the appearance of a splendid ceiling.

Resolution to erect a great church.

On the 11th May 1819, the "Royal Mission Chapel" was opened, when the people, to the number of about six thousand, assembled, arrayed in their best attire. Three ministers occupied the pulpits, and three sermons were preached at the same moment to three separate congregations; the house being so large that the several orators did not hear one another's voice.* Two days after this interesting ceremony, a meeting was held in the same place for the promulgation of certain laws which it had been found expedient to enact, limiting the powers of the sovereign, and securing the rights of the subject. All the civil usages of the islands had been so closely connected with idolatry, that, when the latter was abol-

Opening of the church.

* Mr Ellis, who afterwards visited the royal chapel, says, "how it might be when the house was filled I do not know; but when empty, the human voice could be distinctly heard from the one end to the other, without any great effort on the part of those who at this distance called or answered."—*Researches*, vol. ii. p. 379.—*Missionary Records*, p. 253.

CHAP. IV. ished, the former ceased to have any sanction; and hence, both those who administered justice, and those who appealed to its protection, were equally at a loss how to proceed. The missionaries, whose advice was frequently asked, had wisely declined to interfere in political or judicial affairs; and it was not until Pomare himself requested their aid, that they consented to join with their spiritual functions the office of legislators. The code, which was prepared by the king and a few of the chiefs, assisted by Mr Nott, was remarkably simple, comprehending only eighteen heads. It was not indeed altogether satisfactory to the brethren, but it was perhaps better suited than a more perfect system to the partial light the inhabitants at that time possessed, and to the peculiar disposition of the ruler. He was exceedingly jealous of his prerogative, and unwilling to admit others to a participation in his power. Several of the articles had a reference to the crimes most prevalent in Otaheite and Eimeo, such as murder, theft, trespass, stolen property, sabbath-breaking, rebellion, and adultery. The remainder regulated the solemnity of marriage, the appointment of judges, and matters of finance. The first copy of these statutes, read by the king in the ears of the people, was written by himself. He afterwards transcribed them in a fair hand for the press; but the original manuscript, made and signed by his majesty, is in the possession of the Missionary Society in London. The laws themselves were printed in the native languages, and distributed largely throughout both islands. After a brief space, too, similar ordinances were publicly adopted in Raiatea, and recognised by the inhabitants of Tahaa, Bolabola, and Maupiti. In addition to the enactments of Otaheite, the Society Islanders resolved to introduce the "trial by jury;" the greatest legal improvement hitherto attempted by the reformers of the Pacific. The proceedings were every where divested as much as possible of technical form; and, though some slight embarrassments were occasionally encountered, as might be expected in a country totally unaccustomed to

New code of laws.

Enactment of trial by jury.

any prescribed method, the administration of justice, upon the whole, was so conducted by the magistrates as to give general satisfaction.* CHAP. IV.

Baptism of Pomare II.

Three days after the promulgation of the code of laws, the great chapel was made the scene of another interesting ceremony. Pomare, at an early period of his career as a Christian, had requested to be admitted to the ordinance of baptism. For reasons, which are stated by them in the most unreserved manner, the missionaries deemed it expedient to postpone this sacred rite; but being now satisfied that his desire to be initiated was founded on proper motives, and that his conduct was not likely to throw discredit on his profession, it was resolved that the sacrament should be administered to him in the presence of the assembled multitude. Accordingly, the three pulpits were again occupied by three preachers, who all discoursed on the same subject. "The sermons being ended, we all closed round the king, he being seated on this occasion near the middle pulpit. Brother Bourne commenced by giving out a hymn, which was sung by the congregation. Brother Bicknell engaged in

The baptism services.

* Captain Gambier gives an interesting account of their proceedings on one of those occasions. "At the appointed time, a great many people assembled under some very fine trees near the queen's house. A small bench was brought for the two judges; the rest either stood or sat upon the ground, forming something less than a semicircle. We were provided with low seats near the judges. The two prisoners were seated cross-legged upon the ground, under the shade of a small tree, about twenty paces in front of the judges. They were both ill-looking men dressed in the graceful tipata. When all was ready to begin, one of the judges rose and addressed the prisoners at considerable length. He explained to them the accusation which brought them there, and read to them the law under which, if found guilty, they would be punished. When he had finished, and called upon them to say whether it was true or not, one of them got up and answered with great fluency and good action. He maintained their innocence, and called a witness to confirm it. The witness very artfully turned his evidence to the account of the prisoners. Others, also, in some way or other favoured the accused, and the defendants were therefore discharged for want of evidence." Quoted by Ellis, vol. iii. p. 142. Captain G. C. Gambier commanded his majesty's ship Dauntless.

CHAP. IV.

prayer; which being ended, the king stood up. Brother Bicknell stood on the steps of the pulpit, and taking the water from the basin held by Brother Henry, poured it on his head, baptizing him in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Pomare was observed to lift up his eyes to heaven and move his lips with an indistinct sound. The sight was very moving, especially to our elder brethren, who had watched over him so many years."*

Successes in the Society Islands.

Similar success attended their labours in the Society Islands. At Raiatea, the congregation consisted of more than a thousand individuals. Great attention was given to the education of the children, and to the furtherance of industrious employments among the people; some of whom were taught to practise mechanical arts as carpenters, boatbuilders, blacksmiths, and plasterers. So qualified, they built for themselves a commodious chapel, fitted to accommodate sixteen hundred persons. In the year 1820, the holy communion was administered for the first time in the district of Fare, island of Huaheine. In front of the pulpit, a neat table, covered with white native cloth, was fixed, upon which the sacramental vessels were placed. As a wheaten loaf could not be conveniently had, the ministers employed an article of food as nearly resembling it as possible, the roasted bread-fruit, pieces of which were laid on the patten. Possessing wine, they were not compelled, on this occasion, to have recourse to any substitute, such as the juice of the cocoa-nut, which some of the brethren elsewhere had found it necessary to use.†

Death of Pomare II.

About the close of 1821, Pomare II., the sovereign of Otaheite and Eimeo, departed this life. It is not disguised, that his illness was aggravated by intemperance, a frailty which neither religion nor the sense of official dignity could induce him to overcome. Many parts of

* Missionary Records, p. 257. "Pomare shook hands affectionately with all the missionaries, they being stationed by his own desire at his right hand and his left."

† Ibid. p. 273.

his conduct, during the latter part of his life, had occasioned to the brethren much pain; but they could not remember without gratitude the important favours he had conferred upon the nation, and the benefit they had derived from his countenance in prosecuting the great work to which their lives were devoted. One of them, referring to this event, observes, that he was a prince who never had an equal in these islands; the friend of all foreigners, and the protector of the missionaries. In knowledge of every kind he was quite unrivalled among his countrymen. Had he enjoyed the advantages of education, he would have attained to as high a degree of eminence as some of the greatest men have reached.* He

Character of Pomare II

* Mr Ellis, in his third volume, p. 249, gives an interesting view of the moral and intellectual qualities of Pomare II., whose doings could not have been indicated by his appearance, which rather tended to produce an unfavourable impression on a stranger's mind. "During the latter part of his life, his conduct was in many respects exceptionable, and his character appeared less amiable than it had been before. He had shown his weakness in allowing the unfounded representations of a transient visiter to induce him to request that the manufacture of sugar might not be extensively carried on.—A few years before his death, he was induced by the representations of designing and misinformed individuals to engage in injudicious commercial speculations with persons in New South Wales. This proved a great source of disquietude to his mind, and probably hastened his death. One or two vessels were purchased for him at a most extravagant price; and the produce of the island was required to pay for them, and to defray expenses connected with their navigation. One of them was seized, a lawsuit instituted in consequence at Port Jackson, the rahui or taboo laid upon the island, the rights of property were invaded, and no native was allowed to dispose of any article of produce, excepting to the agents of the king. He became the chief factor in the island, or rather the instrument of those who were associated with him in these commercial speculations, and who used his authority to deprive the people of the right to sell the fruits of their own labour. The inhabitants were required to bring their pigs, oil, &c., and to receive in return what he chose to give them; the individuals who urged upon him this policy, considered all they could obtain by any means as fair emolument. The welfare of the nation, the natural rights of the people, the establishment of commerce upon just and honourable principles, were beneath their regard. It is needless to add, that these speculations ended in embarrassment and loss. The habits

CHAP. IV. was succeeded by his infant son, who, inheriting his name, was recognised as sovereign, under the title of Pomare the Third. Under the regency which ensued, no material change immediately took place; but it was remarked, that those ties which had hitherto held the nation together began gradually to lose their power.*

Accession of Pomare III.

During several years, Christianity and civilisation advanced in company, at a steady rate, throughout most of the Society and Georgian Islands. No reaction had as yet taken place, and neither the political agitation nor the immorality to which the demise of the king ultimately led was any where perceptible. Ardent spirits were not introduced to any alarming extent; the schools were still well attended; the Sacred Scriptures were eagerly sought; the chapels were generally filled; and social intercourse in all ranks was amazingly improved. An academy was established for the education of the missionaries' families, where it was meant they should receive such instruction as would prepare them to occupy useful situations in future life. The children of natives,

Establishment of an academy.

which Pomare was led to indulge, in consequence of these associations, threw a stain upon his character, and cast a gloom over his mind, from which he never recovered, and under the cloud thus induced, he ended his days."

* For an account of the coronation of Pomare III., we refer to the same author (vol. iii. p. 260), who relates, that when the procession reached the platform, "the king was seated in his chair; in the centre before him, on small tables, the crown, the Bible, and the code of laws were placed. Being only four years of age, he was necessarily passive in the important business. Mr Davis, one of the senior missionaries, spoke for him; and as all were requested to take a part in the ceremonies, when the king had been asked if he promised to govern the people with justice and mercy, agreeably to the laws and the word of God, Mr Nott placed the crown on his head, and pronounced a benediction upon the young ruler. Mr Darling then presented him with a Bible, accompanying the presentation with a suitable address. They also anointed his person with oil; a part of the ceremony, says Mr Ellis, which, I think, might have been as well dispensed with."

We need not add, that this was the first coronation ever witnessed in the islands of the South. Investment with the *maro ura*, or sacred girdle, was the native practice, and used on all former occasions.

if distinguished for piety and talent, had free access to it, with the view of being afterwards sent to a more advanced seminary, calculated for training pastors to serve in different stations throughout the South Sea. In the year 1826, the patrons of the mission could announce that the gospel was professed throughout the two clusters of islands to which our remarks now apply; that nine thousand adults had been baptized; that upwards of a thousand individuals were admitted to church fellowship; that the number under school instruction amounted to four thousand five hundred; and that nearly the whole population had opened up to them, through various channels, sources of knowledge on moral and religious subjects, as well as on the several arts which contribute to the comfort or embellishment of life.*

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Progress of the gospel.

The death of the young king, in January 1827, led to events somewhat unfavourable to the cause of civilisation and divine truth. His sister Aimata succeeded him on the throne, though, being still under age, the former regency continued to act. At first the change in public feeling was not perceptible; but in course of time it was perceived, that this second breach in Pomare's family weakened the force of those regulations under which his authority had held many who were disaffected towards the new order of things introduced by the gospel. Even when the acknowledgment of Christianity was almost general, and attention to its external requirements very regular, there were multitudes that professed it, who yet were strangers to any moral or spiritual impulse, and who, impatient of the restraints under which they were placed, longed for such a revolution in public sentiment as might again restore to them their wonted

Death of Pomare III.

* See Journal of Voyages and Travels, by the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, and George Bennet, Esq. deputed from the London Missionary Society to visit their various Stations in the South Sea Islands, China, India, &c. Compiled from Original Documents, by James Montgomery (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1831), vol. ii. p. 90, &c.

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freedom. This bad feeling, too, was greatly strengthened by the number of ships which now resorted thither for refreshments. These were chiefly vessels engaged in the whale-fishing, which, owing to the uncertainty of obtaining supplies in the South American towns, and the exorbitant charges now made at the Sandwich group, found it convenient to visit the Society Islands. Some of them remained several weeks in harbour, introducing all the irregularities incident to a seaport, and countenancing the natural licentiousness of the people, who again became addicted to the use of ardent spirits.

Demoralising influences.

It is known that, when the gospel was first adopted as the religion of the Windward Isles, the apparatus previously used for distillation was systematically destroyed; and, moreover, that the chiefs, during a long period, steadily opposed all the efforts of foreign traders to revive a practice which, they were convinced, was more destructive of happiness, and even of life, than war, human sacrifice, and infanticide united. But the late king connived at this indulgence on the part of his retainers; and hence, in defiance of the wisest regulations, increasing quantities of spirits were received from the ships, supplying the means of a growing intemperance.*

An alarming heresy.

Nor was the prevalence of wickedness among the people the only obstacle with which the new religion had to contend. In addition to positive crime an alarming heresy arose, which threatened the most fatal consequences to faith as well as to practice. Two individuals, laying claim to plenary inspiration, announced themselves as the sole medium of communication with heaven; and under the influence of fanaticism or fraud, affirmed that the millennium was come, that moral evil no longer existed, that the ten commandments had ceased to have any force, and, consequently, that every one might safely follow the course of life most agreeable to his own desires. These tenets produced in some of the stations great irregularities, and a very general defection from evangelical

* Missionary Records, p. 302.

truth. The church at Maurua, which was thereby entirely dissolved, yielded to all the licentious maxims introduced by the visionaries of Otaheite. CHAP. IV.

Progress of civilization.

Notwithstanding these untoward events, the progress of Polynesian society in the arts and enjoyments of civilized life continued to confirm the hopes of philanthropists at home and abroad, that their labours had not been expended altogether in vain. The industry and enterprise of the people were gradually increasing; the number of vessels which visited their shores created a demand for vegetables, live stock, and other supplies; and a prosperous traffic among the different islands necessarily led to ship-building on a considerable scale. Down to the close of 1830 public tranquillity remained unbroken, though certain causes of misunderstanding between the queen and the chiefs had threatened the fearful calamity of a civil contest. Indeed, in the commencement of the following year, the hostile parties were about to enforce their respective claims by an appeal to arms, when an English ship of war, the Comet, providentially arrived at Otaheite. The commander, with great promptitude, united with the missionaries in their endeavours to maintain peace, and their efforts were successful.*

Arrival of Pitcairn Islanders.

It is not unworthy of notice that, at this crisis, the descendants of such of the mutineers on board the Bounty as had taken refuge in Pitcairn's Island, debarked in Papeete Bay, with the view of fixing a permanent residence in the territories of Queen Pomare. Finding the resources

* Captain Sandilands, in a reply made by him to a letter of thanks received from the missionaries, ascribes the acceptance by the queen of his offer of mediation "much more to the intelligence and ability displayed by you, at so momentous and interesting a time, than to any intrinsic merit that my proposals possessed; and it is a circumstance affording me the highest satisfaction, to observe the great estimation you are all held in by the queen and her chiefs, which could not have been obtained but by a faithful discharge of your duties as ministers of Christ and teachers of our holy religion; and it will be peculiarly gratifying to me to make known these circumstances more fully to those authorities whom it is my duty to inform of this transaction."

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of the small spot of land on which Adams had established his colony much too limited to supply them with the means of subsistence, they applied to the captain of the Comet, who removed them, eighty-seven in number, to the country of their maternal ancestors. But the circumstances under which they reached the shore could not fail to produce an unfavourable impression on their minds. The royal army on the one side, and the principal chiefs with their followers on the other, were encamped in a hostile attitude at no great distance. It is true, both parties concurred in expressions of good will towards the strangers, and a piece of ground in the neighbourhood was appropriated to their accommodation; but their minds being ill at ease, and their health affected by the change of climate or of food, they soon embraced an opportunity, gratuitously supplied to them, of returning to their native abode.

Re-embarkment of the Pitcairn Islanders.

The disaffection which alarmed the Georgian Islands produced results still more unhappy in the Society cluster. The chief of Tahaa, having resolved to withdraw his allegiance from the King of Raiatea, thereby gave rise to the most disastrous war which has occurred in that part of the Pacific since the introduction of Christianity. In May 1831, the venerable Tamatoa, whose name occurs frequently in the missionary annals as an ardent friend of the new religion, fell a victim to grief and fatigue. From the moment of his conversion he appeared to be influenced by a sincere conviction of truth; and his dying charge to his people was, to preserve the word of God with vigilance, and to be careful that it should not be driven from their shores.*

Declension in religion.

Such commotions were almost necessarily productive of dissension and indifference among the mixed multitude who professed to believe in the gospel, without fully understanding its principles or imbibing its power. At the close of 1832, accordingly, it was evident to those

* Missionary Records, p. 315. Tamatoa is known to have written several letters to the London Missionary Society, besides others to private correspondents in England.

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who viewed the general aspect of the missions, that though external ordinances were observed, those whose faith was sincere constituted only a small minority; and that there was an obvious line drawn between true and ostensible believers, who formed two separate classes which had little in common. That this unfortunate distinction should have taken place, cannot be matter of surprise to those who have estimated the causes of deterioration which had been allowed to operate. Exposed to the evil communication which corrupteth good manners, the flexible mind of the soft barbarian could not resist the powerful temptation which assailed his principles through his appetites. A flood-gate for the practice of iniquity was thus opened, whilst the unconfirmed conscience, not accustomed to the finer distinctions which separate virtue from vice, supplied an argument to the sinner that, though guilty, he might escape punishment. Those who, during this period of trial, had no root in themselves, naturally fell away; and others, who were strangers to any higher principle than regard for the opinion of the world, returned in haste, like the sow that was washed, to wallow in the mire. The churches were afflicted by a partial defection; the enemy triumphed, and the friend of religion mourned over the catastrophe. Such details as have reached this country since the date just mentioned will be communicated to the reader in a subsequent chapter.

Influx of immorality.

CHAPTER V.

Marquesas, Low Archipelago, and Austral Islands.

Marquesas discovered by Mendana—Description—Climate—Inhabitants—Intercourse with Spaniards—Cruelty practised by Manriquez—Visit of Captain Cook in 1774—One of the Natives killed—The Dædalus arrives at Santa Christina—Attack on an Officer—The Duff touches at the Marquesas and lands two Missionaries—Despondency of one of them—Mission renewed and abandoned—Voyage of the Olive Branch—Missionaries from the Sandwich Islands—Notice by Mr Bennett of the Tuscan—Visit of Captain Waldegrave—Character of the People in the Low Archipelago—Form of the Islands—Justly called "Dangerous"—Whence peopled—Gambier Islands—Inhabitants seek refuge in the Georgian Group—Conversion to Christianity—Violence inflicted on Missionaries—Their Religion and Manners—Incident on Island of Byam Martin—Bow Island—Pitcairn's Island—Account of John Adams and Family—Visit of Christian and Young—The domestic and religious Habits of the People—Visited by Captain Beechey—Austral Isles—Rapa Chapel and School—Raivavai—Church organized—Toobouai—Inhabitants converted—Rurutoo—Docility of Natives—Rimatara—Advance in Civilisation—New Islands discovered.

CHAP. V.

Classifications of the island groups.

It is obvious that, in most cases, the lines which separate the several clusters of islands must be to a great extent imaginary, because there are no natural boundaries, or even characteristic distinctions, whereby their precise position might be determined. There is, notwithstanding, a certain convenience in describing them under particular heads, inasmuch as, while following out this principle, we are naturally led to mark the date of their discovery, the geological features connected with their

supposed origin, and the peculiarities of the people by whom they are respectively inhabited. CHAP. V

The Marquesas were first visited in 1595 by a Spanish navigator, Alvaro Mendana de Neyra, who, in compliment to a man of rank, gave them the name which they continue to bear. They extend about two hundred miles in a north-west and south-east direction, and are situated between lat. 10° 30′ and 7° 50′ S., and long. 139° and 141° W. A wide channel divides them into two groups, of which the south-eastern contains five, and the south-western eight; the latter, having been seen by the Americans in 1797, are sometimes denominated Washington Islands. An elevated ridge of mountains pervades them all in the direction of their length, and in the larger ones rises to an elevation of 2000 or 3000 feet. These eminences have on both sides high offsets or branches, which extend to the shores of the ocean, and thus divide the low land into valleys, which have no communication with one another except across the intervening hills. The coast is rocky, steep, and beaten by a continual surf; there being no coral reef to protect it from the heavy surge which characterizes the Pacific. There are, however, numerous harbours in both sections of the Marquesas, especially those of Anna Maria and Comptroller's Bay, to which may be added the one named Resolution, to commemorate the arrival of the celebrated Cook.

The Marquesas.

The climate, though somewhat hot, is considered very healthy. The thermometer ranges from 60° to 80° of Fahrenheit; and when the sun is northward of the equator, there is usually abundance of rain. Thunder-storms rarely occur. As might be anticipated, the prevailing wind is from the east, more especially during the autumnal months; but northern breezes are not uncommon in summer, while in winter they proceed generally from the south-west. The fruit-trees are chiefly the cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, and papaw, a species of fig, though the inhabitants also cultivate bananas, plantains, and sweet-potatoes. Their garments are derived from

Their climate.

CHAP. V. the bark of the mulberry-tree, in preference to cotton, which grows in abundance, and is greatly superior to that cultivated in other parts of the South Sea. Sugar and tobacco might also be produced in large quantities, as the plants are strong, and of an excellent quality.

Their inhabitants. There is no doubt that the natives are of the same lineage with the other tribes who occupy the neighbouring islands, as far westward at least as the Fijees; of which their language and bodily conformation supply the most undoubted proof. Their complexion resembles the colour of dark copper; the women presenting a tint considerably lighter than that of the men. Some of the earlier navigators speak highly of their figure, as being a perfect model of symmetry in the human frame; but later travellers do not confirm this opinion, while it is admitted that the difference of stature is greater among them than in any other part of the world. They excel in the art of tattooing the body, the persons of some of their chiefs being covered all over with regular figures of the most tasteful patterns. It is to be regretted, at the same time, that they still labour under the horrible imputation of being cannibals, both when they feel inclined to glut their revenge after a battle, and also on certain occasions when superstition may seem to warrant the gratification of their unnatural appetite.

It is much to be regretted that the first European visiters did not teach them by example either forbearance or self-denial. Mendana's squadron. When the squadron under Mendana approached the coast of the island, which he afterwards called Santa Christina, the natives, in their canoes or by swimming, presented themselves to the number of seventy at the side of his ships. As their manners were gentle and unobtrusive, the admiral resolved to send a boat ashore for the purpose of examining the new country to which fortune had carried him; and intrusting this duty to Manriquez, one of his officers, he waited the issue with some degree of anxiety. The Spaniard advanced with military music, hoping thereby to attract a greater degree of attention; but the inhabitants, alarmed,

perhaps, at this unwonted display of power, did not stir from their houses till they were called, when about three hundred, men and women, obeyed the summons in the quietest manner. Being desired to bring water, they produced a small quantity in cocoa-nut shells, and likewise fruit of various kinds. The soldiers requiring more water, put into the hands of the ignorant savages several jars or pitchers which they had brought with the intention of procuring a supply of this necessary of life; and the simple people, either imagining that they were allowed to keep them, or yielding to the thievish propensity which persons in their primitive condition have been always found to manifest, carried away the coveted vessels. Manriquez ordered his men to fire upon them; a cruel and injudicious resolution to inflict a severe punishment where there was no real crime. CHAP. V. Intercourse with the natives.

Three days afterwards, Mendana himself landed, having brought his squadron to anchor in the harbour. Mass was immediately celebrated on the shore; a spectacle which, though it arrested the attention of the natives, called not forth any observation, nor led to any movement on their part. The commander next proceeded to take formal possession of their island, in the name of the king,—a ceremony seldom omitted at that period; and, being desirous of establishing a friendly intercourse with them, he sowed some Indian corn wherever the soil seemed most likely to yield a suitable return. But he had no sooner retired to his ship than Manriquez found himself again involved in a dispute with the inhabitants. He opened upon them a fire of musketry, by which many of them were killed, and drove the remainder, with their wives and children, into the woods. This severe chastisement compelled them to make submission; and a more confidential communication being renewed, they at length separated, with a better opinion of each other's motives, if not with an entirely amicable feeling. Subduing them by bloodshed.

Captain Cook was the next discoverer who touched those remote shores. On the 7th April 1774, he reached

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Resolution Bay, or the Madre de Dios of Mendana, and was soon approached by a considerable number of canoes. Instinctive caution, or perhaps a traditionary fear of white men, kept them at some distance, notwithstanding the invitations of the English commander. At length the powerful eloquence of a valuable gift brought one of the skiffs under the quarter-gallery; the rest followed, and an active barter for provisions immediately commenced. It was remarked, however, that each canoe had in its bow a heap of stones, and every man a sling in his hand. Next day, their confidence was so well established, that a more ample supply of food was produced; but as they showed the usual disposition to cheat, a musket was fired over the head of an individual who seemed to encourage the others in their attempts at injustice. Unfortunately, upon an act of theft being detected, a shot was fired which proved fatal, and hence an immediate stop was put to all farther intercourse. The captain, desirous to remove the unfavourable impression produced by this accident, held an interview with the chiefs, who, receiving his explanation in good part, consented to the renewal of their traffic; but as the demand for trinkets and nails had been fully supplied, it became manifest to the foreigners that no beneficial trade could be carried on without a greater variety of commodities. They therefore left the Marquesas after a visit of only four days.

Visit of Captain Cook.

Visit of the Dædalus.

Passing over the brief visit of Le Marchand in 1784, we proceed to mention, that, in March 1792, the Dædalus store-ship, on her voyage from England to join Vancouver, arrived at Santa Christina, or, as it is not unusually denominated Ohittahoo. The commanding officer found the islanders as much addicted as before to appropriate whatever caught their fancy, and, in particular, every thing made of iron. They began by purloining the buoy of one of the anchors; but they considerately left a piece of wood in its stead, which enabled the crew to recover the anchor itself. The lieutenant went ashore, with four men, in search of water, on which occasion

the natives stole the buckets, and even snatched a fowling-piece from his hands. On returning to his boat, moreover, he found that they had cut away the grapnel by which it was fastened. All this he endured with the greatest patience; and, on regaining his boat, he rowed close to the shore, and merely fired over their heads a volley of small arms, which so alarmed them, that they fled with the utmost precipitation to the woods, with the exception of one resolute individual, who, in defiance of their overwhelming strength, threw stones at the crew. Instead of shooting this hero, the English sailors, admiring his courage, allowed him to retire unmolested. At length, however, the Dædalus discharged a few cannon-shot over the village; upon which the terrified inhabitants fled in all directions to the hills, where they concealed themselves till night, when one of them swam off to the ship with a green bough wrapped in white cloth, which he threw on deck as a token of peace,—a consummation which was happily effected without the loss of a single life.

Intimidating of the natives.

As a proof that the savages were in earnest, they joined the lieutenant next morning when he went to the watering-place, and, of their own accord, assisted him to fill the casks. The grapnel, the fowling-piece, and a theodolite which had been also stolen, were recovered after a little peaceful negotiation. It is true, at the same time, that a vigilant eye was necessary to prevent a repetition of similar freedoms, whenever a crowd was allowed to assemble on board; for the chiefs, who witnessed numerous attempts to abstract valuable property, wanted either authority or inclination to repress the marauders. But the Dædalus in due time departed, leaving on the minds of the people a favourable impression of the British character.*

Restoration of stolen articles.

In the year 1798, the Duff proceeded from Tongata-

* Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions considered in their mutual Relations. By John Campbell (8vo, Lond. 1840), p. 112. See also "Wilson's Voyage of the Dædalus," a work which contains many interesting details.

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boo to the Marquesas, with the view of planting missionaries in those islands. On the 5th June, the ship anchored in Resolution Bay, and next morning Captain Wilson received a visit from Tenae, a chief, who went on board prepared to exchange presents with the stranger. When the subject of settling two teachers in the country was mentioned, he seemed highly delighted, and declared that they should have a house, and a share of all he had. When the two brethren, Harris and Crook, landed, he conducted them to one of his best residences, intimating that it was at their service, and that they might occupy it as soon as they pleased. It was twenty-five feet long, six wide, ten feet high in the back part, and four in the front. At the corners, four stout stakes were driven into the earth, on which were laid horizontal pieces of wood, and from these last to the ground bamboos were neatly ranged in perpendicular order at a distance of about half an inch from each other, and in front of them were hung long blinds made of leaves. The furniture consisted of a mat stretched on the floor, several large calabashes, fishing-tackle, and a few spears.

Landing of two missionaries

Mr Crook was not discouraged by this appearance of things, which certainly did not promise much comfort; but his colleague, Harris, did not conceal his disappointment, nor his reluctance to enter upon his professional labour among such uncouth barbarians. It was manifest that he had become paralysed by fear, his ardour quenched, and his firmness shaken. He agreed, nevertheless, to make a trial; the captain assuring him that if he thought it unsafe to stay, and could show satisfactory reasons, he might return on board. After a week's deliberation, during which his courage seemed to gain no strength, he was "set on shore with all his things." A short experience convinced him that neither his bodily nor mental energies were equal to the task upon which he had entered. He expressed a deep disgust with the food and other matters; and one morning, a fisherman swam from the shore at break of day, to inform the captain that the frightened missionary had been on the beach all night,

Desertion of one of them.

after being robbed of the greater part of his property. Mr Falconer, the third mate, who went to bring him off, found him in a most lamentable condition, and almost deprived of intellect.

His reasons for deserting.

The reasons which he gave for deserting in this pusillanimous manner the duty assigned to him, illustrate some of the features of society as it then existed at the Marquesas; but the particulars are so utterly void of delicacy that we cannot enter upon the recital, though given at length in the missionary narratives. At all events, Harris determined to leave a country the inhabitants of which were so utterly abandoned; while Crook, in the face of all difficulties, determined to remain, and make an attempt at least, by elevating their views, to improve their manners. His deportment on this occasion afforded much delight to every one on board the Duff, who anticipated the happiest results from the labours of a man who counted not his life dear to him, provided he could realize in any degree the benevolent object on which he had been sent. In the evening, he came on board with the chief to take leave, as the ship was to sail next morning; accordingly, after several articles were put into the canoe, all his countrymen affectionately bade him farewell. Even at this solemn parting, his manly feeling and christian resolution did not forsake him; tears glistened in his eyes, but none fell; nor did he betray the least sign of fear or reluctance to enter upon the perilous work unaided and alone.*

Fluctuations of the mission.

After persevering about twelve months without success, this zealous servant of the Society found it expedient to remove from the Marquesas. In 1821, a renewed attempt was contemplated; but the missionaries, two natives of Huaheine, who had been appointed to those islands, accompanied Mr Ellis to the Sandwich group, where they were ultimately detained. Accordingly, it was not till the beginning of 1825 that Mr Crook conducted thither three teachers from Otaheite, when

* Missionary Voyage, p. 128-143.

CHAP. V. several of the inhabitants, who had known him during his former residence, welcomed his return. The greater number, however, were still exceedingly vicious and disorderly in their conduct. After remaining about a month, and holding various conferences with the priests and other influential persons, he left the brethren, themselves natives of the Georgian Isles, to commence their arduous undertaking. Their prospects of success were at first rather encouraging in Santa Christina; but the wickedness of the people proved so atrocious, and their behaviour so offensive even to the Otaheitans, accustomed as they were to the immoral practice of savages, that they returned home in despair. They were succeeded by others, who were likewise obliged to leave in 1828. Next year, two Europeans proceeded to the same quarter, to ascertain the real condition of those unimprovable tribes, and the practicability of re-establishing a mission among them. After a careful examination of their social state and character, viewed in connexion with the scanty means supplied to them by the chiefs, they were obliged to conclude that the time for converting the barbarians of Ohittahoo had not yet arrived.

Impracticability of the natives.

In 1831, Mr Darling, who sailed to the Marquesas in the Olive Branch, visited all the islands. Fatouiva or La Magdalena, being the most southern of the group, is usually the first seen by vessels approaching from the eastward. When the ship reached the north-western side of the island, a number of the natives came around her in canoes, from whom they learned that the inhabitants, who had been engaged in no war during two years, were still living in peace with one another. Encouraged by this account, they sent their boat on shore for supplies. Fanah, an individual who was born there, but had resided several years at Otaheite, and was believed to be a decided Christian, landed, in company with another Marquesan, to obtain more full intelligence as to the actual position of affairs, and the sentiments of the chiefs towards christian teachers. They soon returned on board taking with them the principal proprie-

Visit of the Olive Branch.

tor of that part of the coast on which the Olive Branch was anchored; who, being made acquainted with the object of their visit, had come to request that some o the missionaries might be stationed among his people. Finding that the inhabitants themselves concurred in this petition, promising to protect their instructors, to supply them with the means of support, and afford every facility in the prosecution of their good work, Mr Darling communicated this intelligence to the brethren, two of whom agreed at once to remain on the island. Towards the evening of the same day, after a suitable address, they were recommended to God in the presence of the chief and his followers, who had gone on board for the purpose of witnessing this ceremony; and having received from the presiding minister a testimonial, certifying that they were stationed there as christian teachers by the missionaries in Otaheite, they affectionately took leave, carrying with them a few articles of clothing, books, and tools. On the shore they found the people assembled waiting their arrival; to whom Fanah explained the object which their visiters had in view, and recommended them to their most favourable regards. Upon performing this duty, he himself returned on board, and the vessel proceeded to the other islands, where similar duties were to be performed.*

Mission to La Magdalena

Mr Darling found that at Ouapoa or Trevennien's Island, where missionaries were stationed in the year 1828, little progress had been made; on which account, he removed the sole survivor, whose health and spirits had undergone an unfavourable change. The teachers

Small progress at Ouapoa.

* Missionary Records, Tahiti, p. 296. In reference to the ferocity of the people, it is said by this author, " however reluctant we may have been to admit the cannibalism of any of the Polynesian tribes, the testimony of foreigners of every nation by whom the Marquesans have been visited, and of the native teachers from the Society Islands, who have resided long among them, forces upon us the belief, that they perpetrate this unnatural crime to as great an extent, and under circumstances as aggravating, as it has been met with among any portion of mankind."

CHAP. V. left at Santa Christina, owing to the adverse circumstances already mentioned, have since retired, but those at La Magdalena resolved to remain; and though at times surrounded by war and exposed to many perils, they refused to leave their station, hoping ultimately to accomplish their important object. But the ferocity of the natives, their unsatiable desire of firearms and ammunition, their love of war, its sanguinary character, and the inhuman practice with which it is usually concluded; their inveterate attachment to a system which sanctions every vice and cruelty; and, above all, their abominable licentiousness and inconstancy of disposition, presented an almost insuperable bar to their success. Still it is a singular fact, that the chiefs of all the islands expressed a desire that white men should reside among them as religious instructors. The attention of the London Missionary Society has been repeatedly directed to the deplorable state of the whole Marquesan group. They were visited in 1833 by a deputation of Americans from the Sandwich Islands, who succeeded in establishing a mission in the northern cluster; but owing to obstructions of the same nature as those just mentioned, they were compelled to discontinue their labours the following year.

Debased state of La Magdalena.

Visit of the Tuscan.

Some accounts were communicated to the public, relative to the isles of Mendana, in extracts from a diary kept by Mr Bennett, surgeon of the Tuscan whaler, which completed a voyage round the world in the year 1836. The population of Santa Christina was then estimated at 1400 persons, whose appearance was robust and healthy, with handsome features. Each valley was under the dominion of a separate chief, who maintained a feudal independence. The natives, who had for some time enjoyed profound peace, are described as being generally honest and well-behaved, trading with the English officers on a very amicable footing. The author remarks, however, that vigilance is quite indispensable, as they are extremely capricious, and capable of the greatest outrages when least suspected.

Two missionaries conveyed by the Tuscan from Eng-

land were settled in the valley opening upon Resolution Bay, with some prospect of comfort and usefulness. They found, indeed, but little encouragement in the disposition of the natives, who, though they abolished open idolatry, retained the greater part of their heathen customs and prejudices. Eutiti, the principal ruler of the district, was a shrewd avaricious person, eager to encourage the resort of shipping to his ports, because, by means of the traffic, he acquired such munitions of war as enabled him to maintain a considerable influence over the other chiefs. Viewed as the patron of Christian teachers, he was regarded by our countrymen with respect, however dark or questionable his motives might appear.*

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The chief of Resolution Bay.

Captain Waldegrave, of her majesty's ship Seringapatam, had previously visited Noukahiva or Martin Island, which he describes as being of volcanic origin, and possessing a fertile soil. With regard to the bodily qualities of the natives, so much extolled by Cook and other navigators, he expresses great disappointment. The men, with few exceptions, were below five feet ten inches in height, and averaged about five feet six or seven, with stout muscular arms and chests, long backs, short thighs, long but rather small legs: the women were short, walked awkwardly, with long backs and short limbs, the majority being under five feet two inches. All of them appeared very indolent except when employed by the English crew, nature providing for them most liberally without the pain of labour. During the day, they sat collected in groups, either in their huts, or under the shadow of trees, but more frequently sleeping than talking. This idleness is not incompatible with the spirit of a warlike people, who, when the hour of danger comes, are easily roused to the most violent exertion. They are proud of displaying their wounds; and the marks of musket-balls were observed on the bodies of many of them. Their greatest delight is to mimic the movements and stratagems of

The natives of Noukahiva.

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. vii. p. 223.

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war, showing how they attack the enemy, oppose and traverse their tactics.

Their physical degeneracy.

It was remarked by the officers when ashore, that the old men appeared much stronger than the present race. Whilst exploring the hills, the natives squatted twenty times in an hour to take rest, though the English sailors felt no fatigue. This degeneracy is supposed to arise from the general relaxation of morals, and more especially from early licentiousness; contrasting in a striking manner with the vigour displayed by the people of Pitcairn's Island, who are remarkable for their virtuous mode of living. There the men were seen to carry up or down a cliff a cask containing fourteen gallons of water; no weight was found too great, and no labour tired them. The women also were tall, well-shaped, modest, civil, and retiring.*

The Low Archipelago presents fewer points, either in its history or present condition, to arrest the attention of the philanthropist than may be found in the islands situated more to the leeward. The inhabited spots which compose it lie between the parallels of 14° and 26° south latitude, and between long. 130° and 145° W.

The Low Archipelago.

They are exceedingly numerous, and probably many still remain undiscovered; they are nearly all of coral formation, and consist of narrow stripes of that rock, generally describing a circular figure, and enclosing a lagoon, in many instances of great depth. These edges or borders rarely exceed an elevation of ten feet above the sea, and half a mile in breadth. The eastern side is universally the most complete in its formation, and covered with shrubs or small trees; a fact owing to the westerly current caused by the trade-wind, which deposits all floating substances on that side, including a variety of seeds carried, it is probable, from a great dis-

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 170. Captain Waldegrave states that he saw a double canoe which measured twenty of his steps, and was capable of carrying sixty men. "At one end were two skulls and two war clubs, and some shells were fastened to the canoe." He saw no temple or place of worship, nor any signs of religious usage.

tance. Salas Rock, Pitcairn's Island, and Gambier's Group are decidedly volcanic; and it may be presumed that the same convulsions of nature have given to the little zoophyte, or saxigenous polypus, a foundation on which to erect his stupendous structure. One island, called Elizabeth, which has attained a height of seventy or eighty feet, is composed of compact coral, and well covered with vegetation suitable to the meagre soil by which it is supported. It has, however, no lagoon, a circumstance which is considered rare in that class of formations.

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Elizabeth Island.

This archipelago is distinguished by the appellation of "Dangerous," an epithet which has not without reason been applied to the group. The surf, breaking violently over the walls which surround them, is the best safeguard for ships; in the night it may be heard at the distance of six or eight miles, and by day it is frequently seen before the islands themselves are visible. In many instances, not more than five hundred yards from the reef, the ocean is so deep as to be beyond the reach of line or plummet. The western sides, as already noticed, being less completely formed, occasionally present openings wide enough to receive vessels of the largest size into the central lagoons, which are usually found to be safe harbours. All of them are situated within the range of the south-east trade-wind; but in the winter months they are exposed to frequent and heavy gales from the westward. Many are inhabited, but evidently not by the same race. Canoes drifted from the Society Isles have been the means of peopling some, and the occasional visits of European missionaries have conveyed to them the principles of religion, together with a tincture of civilisation.*

Reefs and lagoons.

The islands which are distinguished by the name of

* In Captain Beechey's Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, vol. i. p. 137-267, are many interesting notices respecting thirty-two islands in the Low Archipelago visited by himself. See, at p. 256, the question discussed as to the original inhabitants of the whole group.

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Gambier, and which were discovered by Captain Wilson of the Duff, may be described as comparatively hilly, because most of the others do not rise more than three feet above the level of the sea at high water. Among those best known to navigators may be included the Crescent Isle, the Harp, the Chain, the Bow, appellations which they have received from the supposed resemblance to these objects. A few are thought to be increasing in size, while the greater part seem destined never to ascend above the surface of the waves by which they are constantly washed. But numbers are to be seen in every stage of their progress: some exhibiting little more than the point or summit of a coral-line pyramid, at a depth scarcely discernible through the transparent waters; others spreading like submarine gardens beneath the surface; while a third class ascend, like long curved banks of sand, broken coral, or shells, two or three feet above the water, clothed with a partial vegetation, and bent occasionally into the shape of a horse-shoe. The whole archipelago is known to the natives of Otaheite by the designation of Paumotus; a term which is also applied by them to the inhabitants.

Diversified character of the islands.

It is stated by Mr Ellis, that in the early part of the reign of Pomare the Second, the calamities of war had driven many of those miserable people to seek security in the Georgian Islands. They were at once protected and maintained by that meritorious ruler; and hence, when his own subjects renounced idolatry, they required little argument to induce them to follow this example. They not only cast away their gods, but also accepted instruction from the missionaries. In 1817, many of them returned home, accompanied by Moorea, one of their countrymen, who was much esteemed for his piety, and had learned to read. On reaching Anaa, or Chain Island, the place of his birth, he taught with so much success that, with the exception of a small district, all the inhabitants agreed to renounce heathenism. At a later period, about four hundred of them sailed to Otaheite for books and farther instruction. These dauntless persons, who, in

Renunciation of idolatry.

order to gratify their desire for knowledge, had traversed in their frail vessels a distance of three hundred miles, carried with them the pleasing intelligence that their kinsmen were eager to receive Christianity, that they were building places of worship at several stations, and that they had discontinued the practice of cannibalism, as well as many other atrocities incident to their unconverted state. Besides the small library of which they came in quest, they were supplied with ministers and teachers, including their zealous friend Moorea, who, in the mean time, had been raised by the brethren at Wilks' Harbour to the higher office of minister.

Triumphs of Christianity.

Mr Crook, whose exertions have been already so favourably noticed, visited Chain Island in 1825, which he found overwhelmed with desolation, occasioned by a most furious tempest. He was gratified by learning that the gospel had been received in other parts of the archipelago, and that though the faith of some professors had faltered, the great body of believers continued steadfast in their principles. It is no doubt acknowledged, that while the influence of Christianity had proved most efficacious in softening the barbarous character of the people, their savage dispositions were still occasionally manifested. Desirous to propagate the new religion, they had sent two native teachers to Amanu; but these had no sooner begun their exhortations, and enjoined abstinence from the gross sins which every where prevailed, than they were attacked, their wives killed, and themselves compelled to seek safety in a precipitate flight. One of the women thus murdered was a daughter of the chief of Anaa; and the intelligence so enraged her countrymen, that, forgetting the principles of forbearance inculcated by Christianity, they fitted out a fleet, proceeded to the guilty island, and punished a number of the inhabitants with death.*

Remains of savage dispositions.

Alluding to the natives of the Gambier cluster, a navigator observes that, like the generality of uncivilized

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 306.

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people, they are good-natured when pleased, and harmless when not irritated; obsequious when inferior in force, and overbearing when they have the upper-hand. In features, language, and customs, they resemble the Society, Friendly, and Sandwich Islanders; but they differ from these tribes in being much more exemplary in their manners, as well as in their intercourse with one another. The captain of the Blossom mentions to their honour, that during the whole time he was amongst them, he did not witness "an indecent act or gesture." They display so great a mixture of feature and colour as to give some probability to the conjecture, that several tribes from remote parts of the Pacific had here met and mingled their peculiarities. Their language and religion are closely allied to those of several other small nations; yet they differ essentially from all the tribes in having no huge carved images surmounting their marais, and no fiatookas or wattas. Unlike them also they are deficient in canoes, though they have the means of constructing them; they have neither clubs, slings, nor bows; and they do not present in their persons those marks of mutilation which some others deem indispensable on the death of their relations, or when they wish to appease their offended deities. While they are for the most part fairer and handsomer than the Sandwich Islanders, they are less effeminate than the Otaheitans. In general they have a fine Asiatic countenance with mustachios and beards; and when their heads are covered with a roll of white cloth, they might pass for Moors.*

Character of the Gambier Islanders.

The island of Byam Martin.

On the island to which Captain Beechey gave the name of Byam Martin, he discovered about forty individuals, natives of Otaheite, who, having undergone shipwreck, found there a place of rest and comparative safety. They

* Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, vol. i. p. 187. Captain Beechey remarks, that the average height of them is above that of Englishmen, but they are not so robust. In their muscles there is a flabbiness and laxity of integument which allows the skin to hang in folds on the body.

all entreated him to carry them in his vessel to their own land; a favour which he agreed to confer on a man who appeared the most intelligent of their number, and who with his wife and children was allowed to embark in the Blossom. "We soon discovered," says the commander, "that our little colony were Christians; they took an early opportunity of convincing us of this, and that they had both Testaments and hymn-books printed in the Otaheitan language; they also showed us a black-lead pencil and other materials for writing. Some of the girls repeated hymns, and the greater part evinced a reverence and respect for the sacred books, which reflects much credit upon the missionaries, under whose care we could no longer doubt they had at one time been.*

Its inhabitants Christians.

Tuwarri, the person selected by the British officer as a passenger on board his ship, met with a brother at Bow Island, where he appears to have been employed in the pearl-fishery. An incident is here mentioned which proves in a pleasing manner the happy effects of true religion even on the least cultivated minds. Another native of Anaa, a missionary, who is described as a very well-behaved man, used every effort to convert his new acquaintances to Christianity. He persevered amidst much silent ridicule, and at length succeeded in persuading the greater part of the islanders to conform to the observances enjoined by the gospel. It was interesting to contemplate a body of savages abandoning their superstitions, reverently kneeling down upon the sandy shore, and joining in the morning and evening prayers to the Almighty. At this period there were at Anaa no fewer than thirteen houses of prayer, under the direction of indigenous teachers, men who themselves, a little while before, indulged in all the superstitious usages of a most degrading idolatry.

Conversion of the Bow Islanders.

It is stated, that previously to the arrival of the sedulous teacher now mentioned, every one had his peculiar deity, of which the most common was a piece of

* Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits, &c. vol. i. p. 223.

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wood with a tuft of human hair stuck into it; but that which was deemed most efficacious was the thigh bone of an enemy, or even of a friend recently dead. Into the hollow of this remnant of mortality they inserted a lock of the same person's hair, and then suspended the idol to a tree. To these symbols, as long as they remained in favour, they addressed their prayers; but their piety, having no fixed basis, continued not steady either in regard to its object or the manner of its expression. So soon as they doubted the power of their god, or his inclination to favour them, they cast him away and substituted another not less ridiculous.

Their former deities.

As Bow Island is one of the largest in the archipelago, and affords distinct indications of the manner in which such formations are accomplished, the reader may find some instruction in the following details. It will be recollected, that, like all the others in that region of the Pacific, it has a lagoon in the centre surrounded by a stripe of low land about seventy miles in extent, the part which is dry being about a quarter of a mile in width. On the inner side, a few yards from the margin of the lake, there is a bank consisting of finely broken coral; and at the outer edge, a much higher bank of large blocks of the same material, long since removed from the reach of the waves, and gradually preparing for the usual process of vegetation. Beyond this high bank there is a third ridge similar to that which skirts the lagoon; and outside of it again, as well as in the lagoon, there is a wide shelf, three or four feet under water, the outer one bearing upon its surface huge masses of broken coral; the materials for an outer bank similar to the one just described. These appearances naturally suggest the idea that the island must have risen by slow degrees. Thus the sand dispersed over the lagoon indicates a period when the sea rolled entirely over the reef, tore up blocks of coral from its margin, and by constant friction ground them to powder, and finally deposited the particles where they now rest. The bank near the lake must have originated at a subsequent period, when the

Description of Bow Island.

outer edge, rising nearer to the surface, moderated the strength of the waves, and the wash of the sea reached only far enough to deposit the broken coral in the place described. At a still less distant period, when the island became dry, and the violence of the sea was wholly spent upon its margin, the coral, which had before escaped by being beneath the surface, gave way to the impetuous surge, and was deposited in broken masses which formed the high ridge. Here the sea appears to have dashed a considerable time, until a second ledge gradually extending seaward, and approaching the surface, so lessened the effect of the waves upon this ledge also, that they were again only capable of throwing up an inferior heap similar to the one first mentioned. In process of time, this outer ledge will become dry, and the many large blocks of coral, now resting near its margin, will probably form another heap similar to the large one; and thus the island will continue to increase by a succession of ledges being brought to the surface, while, by the same process, the lagoon will gradually become more shallow and contracted.

Its former condition and physical changes.

The islands between the Low Archipelago and Otaheite are all of the same geological structure as those already described, and present to the naturalist no information beyond that which respects their position and extent. It is highly probable that ships sailing in a direct line south-eastward from Pitcairn Isle to the Strait of Magellan, would make many discoveries; for it is very unlikely that the process which has filled the Pacific with insular groups, throughout a space of eight thousand miles from the Malayan peninsula to Easter Island, shall be found to stop entirely at the latter point. Navigators who enter the South Sea by the way of Cape Horn, usually ascend at once to a higher latitude, as well to avoid the storms which agitate that parallel as to seek supplies or the means of repairing their losses. Hence it may be asserted, that no portion of the great ocean which covers nearly the whole of the southern hemisphere has been less carefully explored than between lat-

Regions for discovery.

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30° and 50° S., and long. 80° and 130° W.,—the field, it may be presumed, of a great volcanic action, which is destined hereafter to form the basis of new lands.

Pitcairn's Island.

As Pitcairn's Island properly belongs to the Paumotus, or Coral Archipelago, now described, we must not pass on without noticing its interesting history. This remarkable spot of land, which is situated in lat. 25° S., and long. 130° W., is supposed to have been seen by Quiros, and named by him Incarnation. In 1767, it was again mentioned by Carteret, who found it still uninhabited, and, owing to the want of harbours, almost quite inaccessible. All the interest connected with it, even at present, arises from its having been selected by a few individuals engaged in the mutiny on board the Bounty, as a place so remote from the ordinary path of navigation as to afford a secure asylum from the vengeance of the law which they had violated. Distracted by personal animosities, they left the island of Toobouai, where they had meant to establish themselves, and, after landing sixteen of their number at Otaheite, the remainder, amounting to nine, together with seven men and twelve women, who joined them at Matavai Bay, put to sea, directing their course towards the east.

This departure took place in September 1789, and nearly twenty years elapsed before the fate of the adventurers was made known in Europe. The first notice respecting them was communicated to the Admiralty, in May 1809, by Sir Sidney Smith, who had received intelligence from Valparaiso to the following effect:—Captain Folger, of the American ship Topaz, relates that, upon landing on Pitcairn's Island, he found there an Englishman of the name of Alexander Smith, the only person remaining of nine who escaped in his majesty's late ship Bounty. Smith states that, after putting Captain Bligh in the boat, Christian, the leader of the mutiny, took command of the ship, and went to Otaheite. Sailing thence, they reached their present residence in the course of the following year, where they ran the ship ashore and broke her up.

Discovery of it by Captain Folger.

No step appears to have been taken in consequence of this discovery, and five more years had passed away before additional particulars were obtained through the medium of two naval officers, Sir Thomas Staines and Captain Pipon, commanding respectively the Briton and the Tagus. In a letter to the government, the former details the circumstances which led to his discovery of the island, the actual position of which was found to be nearly two hundred miles farther east than it was marked in the charts of those days. The captain, in a private communication, enters into fuller details, and expresses the surprise they experienced when, on approaching the land, they saw a few huts neatly built amidst plantations laid out with order and regularity. This convinced them that it could not be Pitcairn's Island, because it had always been described by navigators as uninhabited. Presently they observed a few natives coming down a steep descent, with their canoes on their shoulders; and in a few minutes perceived one of these little vessels darting through a heavy surf, and paddling towards the ship; but their astonishment was extreme when, on coming alongside, they were hailed in the English language, "wo'n't you heave us a rope now!"

Re-discovery by Sir Thomas Staines.

A young man, who sprung with extraordinary alacrity on board, upon being asked who he was, replied, that he was Thursday October Christian, son of the late Fletcher Christian, by an Otaheitan mother; that he was the first person born on the island, and that he was so called because he was brought into the world on a Thursday in October. He soon satisfied the two officers that he was the individual he represented himself to be, and that he was fully acquainted with the memorable history of the Bounty. At this time he was about twenty-four years of age, fully six feet high, with dark hair, and an open, extremely interesting countenance. As he wore no covering except a piece of cloth round his loins, and a straw hat ornamented with black feathers, his fine figure and muscular limbs were dis-

The son of Fletcher Christian.

CHAP. V.

played to the greatest advantage. His body was much tanned by exposure to the weather, and his countenance had a brownish cast, unmixed, however, with that tinge of red so common among the natives of the Pacific islands. Added to a great share of good humour, they were glad to trace in his benevolent countenance all the features of an honest English face. The ingenuous manner in which he answered all questions put to him, created a lively interest among the officers, who could not but regard him with feelings of tenderness and compassion; his manner, too, of speaking English, was exceedingly pleasing, and correct both in grammar and pronunciation. He was accompanied by a companion, a handsome youth of seventeen or eighteen years of age, named George Young, son of the unfortunate midshipman. When Sir Thomas Staines took them below, and set before them something to eat, they both rose up, and one of them placing his hands together in a posture of devotion, asked a blessing on what they were about to receive. They were, it may well be imagined, not a little surprised at the sight of so many novel objects, the size of the ships, of the guns, and every thing around them. Observing a cow, they were at first somewhat alarmed, and expressed a doubt whether it was a huge goat or a horned hog, these being the only two species of quadrupeds they had ever seen. A little dog amused them much. "O what a pretty little thing it is," exclaimed Young. "I know it is a dog, for I have heard of such an animal." They informed the commander of many singular events which had taken place among the first settlers, but referred them for farther particulars to an old man on shore, whose name, they said, was John Adams, the only surviving Englishman that came away in the Bounty, at which time he was called Alexander Smith.*

Interest excited by him.

His astonishment at a cow.

Adams, upon receiving a visit from Sir Thomas and Captain Pipon, showed some apprehension that they

* The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of H. M. S. Bounty; its cause and consequences, 12mo, pp. 289, 290. London, 1831.

should carry him away a prisoner for his share in the mutiny. They soon, however, set his mind at ease; observing, that although in the eye of the law they could only consider him in the light of a criminal of the deepest dye, yet it would have been an act of the greatest cruelty to have taken him away from his little family, who, in such a case, would have been left to experience the utmost misery and distress, and ultimately perhaps to perish of want. The interesting little colony was now found to contain forty-six individuals, including a few infants. Their personal attractions, which were great, excited less admiration than their virtuous conduct. The officers were assured that not one instance of immorality had occurred among the young people since their settlement in the island. Their native modesty, aided by the precepts of religion, had hitherto preserved them from any approach to irregularity. The young women told Captain Pipon with much simplicity, that they were not married, and that their father, as they called Adams, had told them it was right they should wait with patience till they had acquired sufficient property to bring up a young family, before they thought of marrying; and that they always followed his advice, because they knew it to be good. "But what delighted us most," says the same officer, "was the conviction which John Adams had impressed on the minds of these young people of the propriety and necessity of returning thanks to the Almighty for the many blessings they enjoy. They never omit saying grace before and after meals, and never think of touching food without asking a blessing from him who gave it. The Lord's prayer and the creed they repeat morning and evening."*

CHAP. V.

Character of the colony.

Patriarchal conduct of John Adams.

* Captain Beechey (vol. i. p. 104) remarks, that "one interruption only disturbed our first sleep; it was the pleasing melody of the evening hymn, which, after the lights were out, was chanted by the whole family in the middle of the room. In the morning also we were awoke by their morning hymn and family devotion."

The Honourable Captain Waldegrave, who was there in 1830

CHAP. V.

In the year 1817, when the condition of the exiles in Pitcairn's Island was made known to the directors in London, the Missionary Society sent for their use a large supply of Bibles, Testaments, and Prayer-books, which were duly acknowledged by John Adams. To these were added some elementary treatises for the education of the young, to whose respectability and comfort such training was indispensable. Some time before the arrival of Captain Beechey, a whaler had touched at the island, and left a person named John Buffet. In this man they fortunately found an able and willing schoolmaster; for being captivated by the behaviour of the people, he resolved to live among them. His mind, naturally serious and devout, urged him to undertake a still more important duty. Besides teaching the children, he regularly performed the offices of a minister, in conjunction with Adams, who, though illiterate, had felt himself bound to assume the patriarchal functions of priest and expounder at the head of his large family. The English officers attended divine service one Sunday, a weekly festival which is kept holy with greater strictness than in more civilized parts of the world. It is devoted entirely to prayer, reading, and serious meditation. No boat is allowed to quit the shore, nor any work

Supply of books to the colony.

Their Sabbath observance.

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says, " I never was so forcibly impressed with the blessings of a liturgy as I was at Pitcairn's Island. Adams, the patriarch, could read, but, until the latter days of his life, he could not write; yet, after the slaughter of his shipmates and the Otaheitan men, he reared up all the children in the fear of God, through the instrumentality of the Bible and Prayer-book. He could not compose prayers, but he could read them to the little assembled flock; he read those beautiful prayers found in the Prayer-book of the Church of England; from it also he taught the catechism, the commandments, and all the christian duties. So strongly attached are they to this service, that no dissenting minister could be admitted; they draw from it as the well-spring of life, and will not obtain water from any other source."

"John Adams died in March 1829. During his life, all obeyed him as a parent.—'Father' was his only title. Shortly before his death, he called the heads of families together, and urged them to appoint a chief; but they looked up to him whilst living, and have appointed none since his death."—*Journal of Royal Geographical Society*, vol. iii. p. 161.

to be done, cooking excepted, for which preparation is made the preceding evening. At church the prayers were read by Adams, and the lessons by Buffet, the service being preceded by the singing of hymns. The greatest devotion was apparent in every individual, and in the children there was a seriousness unknown to the younger part of our congregations at home. In the course of the litany, they prayed for their sovereign and all the royal family, with much apparent earnestness. Some special appeals to heaven, which were thought appropriate to their particular case, were added to the usual service; and the venerable father, lest he should leave out any thing essential, read several of those occasional forms directed to be used at certain times and seasons. A sermon followed, which was very well delivered by Buffet; and in order that no part of it should escape attention or be forgotten, it was read three times. The whole concluded with hymns, which were first sung by the grown people, and then by the children. About half an hour afterwards, they again assembled for prayers, which were once more repeated at sunset; so that, with their morning and evening service, they may be said to have church five times on Sunday.

Their public worship.

Their number, when visited by Captain Beechey in 1825, was estimated at sixty-six. In 1831, when removed, at their own desire, to Otaheite, they had increased to eighty-seven; and such, indeed, was the progress of the population, that it must very soon outgrow the means of subsistence. It is perhaps to this cause, implying the necessity of successive emigrations, that we must ascribe the fact of several small isles, which were at one time peopled, being found without inhabitants. This remark is applicable to Easter Island as well as to the one selected by Christian and his remnant of mutineers. At both places colossal figures were found, as well as the ruins of marais, the tombs and temples of the Pacific; and though these relics indicate no progress in the arts, they prove the existence of tribes in places where they are no longer seen. Had the exiles from

Their numbers

CHAP. V. Pitcairn's Island enjoyed comfort in Otaheite, the phenomenon of an entire desertion, the complete exode of a whole nation, would have been again repeated.

The Austral Islands. Southward of the Society Isles lies a group to which, from a reference to their position, the epithet Austral has been applied by a distinguished geographer. They are situated between lat. 23°—28° S., and long. 144°—148° W.; are five in number, and supposed to contain about 4000 inhabitants. Rapa, the most distant from the equator, was observed by Vancouver in December 1791, on his passage from New Zealand to Otaheite. It is about twenty miles in circumference, mountainous, but, at the same time, abundantly supplied with wood and water. Aurai, its principal harbour, is on the eastern side, having an extensive accommodation for shipping, though the entrance is rather narrow and intricate. Mr Ellis, who approached this island in 1817, describes it as presenting, in its higher parts, rather a barren aspect; but adds, that the lower eminences, with many of the valleys, were covered with verdure, trees, and bushes. As Rapa is not surrounded with a reef, the waves of the ocean dash against the base of the hills, and hence there is hardly any land skirting the shore. The inhabitants bear a greater resemblance to the Otaheitans than to the natives of New Zealand, though their language presents a closer affinity to that of the latter people. Their complexion is of the usual copper colour; their features regular; and their countenances, which are in many cases handsome, are shaded with dark hair, both straight and curling. But they were, at the period now mentioned, most savage creatures, fierce and suspicious; their behaviour being as unceremonious as their appearance was uninviting. Vancouver found them unusually shy at first, but afterwards very bold and thievish; and, as a singular trait in their manners, it is worthy of remark, that though his ship was surrounded by not fewer than three hundred of them, there were neither young children, women, nor aged persons in any of their canoes.

Their inhabitants.

In the year 1825, a vessel belonging to an Otaheitan

chief touched at Rapa, and carried thence two natives. Being well received at Papara, where Mr Davies the missionary presided, they consented to attend church and go to school. After a brief space, they were sent home loaded with gifts, and, accompanied by two individuals, who were desired to collect information relative to the country and the character of its inhabitants. The result of this visit was extremely satisfactory; a trade in sandal-wood was forthwith opened; and the deputies from Otaheite were assured, that any proposals for a friendly intercourse would be met with corresponding feelings. In the beginning of the following year, accordingly, two teachers and their wives, with a schoolmaster and a mechanic, sailed for Rapa; carrying thither spelling-books, copies of the Scriptures, and a variety of useful tools, seeds, plants, and timber for a chapel. They were received by the chiefs with respect and hospitality; but, though these last promised protection, and even assistance in erecting a place of worship, they gave no encouragement as to a speedy reception of the gospel. Their intercourse, however, with the more civilized people of the Georgian Isles, not only increased their sources of temporal enjoyment, it also, sooner than they expected, proved the means of introducing Christianity amongst them, and of raising many to a participation in its spiritual blessings. Before the close of 1829, four chapels were erected at different stations, in which, by means of native missionaries, religious instruction was regularly given to attentive audiences.

Deputies from Tahiti.

About six degrees to the north-west of Rapa stands Raivavai, or High Island, which was discovered by Lieutenant Broughton of the Chatham, in the year 1791. The inhabitants, who have a great resemblance to the other South Sea Islanders in most of their usages, are esteemed less cruel, and, in some respects, more ingenious. Infanticide is said to have been unknown amongst them; and there is no evidence that, though strongly addicted to idolatry, they ever stained their hands with human sacrifices. Pomare, who considered the island as

The Island of Raivavai.

CHAP. V. subject to his dominion, sailed thither in 1819, on board an American trader; and he had no sooner presented himself than the people tendered their homage, and solicited his protection. About two years afterwards, Mr Henry, son of one of the missionaries, who commanded a small vessel belonging to the King of Otaheite, arrived at High Island on Sunday, when the converts were about to assemble for divine worship. The congregation consisted of seven hundred persons; and each individual, on entering the church, kneeled down, and uttered a short prayer. The stranger was much delighted with the quiet, devout, and orderly manner in which they conducted themselves at service, as well as during the remainder of the Lord's-day.*

Its Christianization. The open renunciation of idolatry had been effected a short time previously; nearly all the inhabitants having declared themselves desirous of christian instruction. Most of their former objects of worship had been removed from the temples, and some of those mutilated stone figures were actually converted into seats at the doors of the missionary chapel. In 1822, suitable teachers from Eimeo were stationed in the island, who showed the utmost diligence in promoting the improvement of the people. Three years later, two large places were erected for public worship, one of which was capable of containing three hundred persons, and, at its opening, witnessed the administration of baptism to more than fifty adults, besides sixty children. Mr Davies, in 1826, organized a regular church, when sixteen individuals, after due examination, were united in christian fellowship with the brethren, who had resided some time amongst them. But three years afterwards, an epidemic, in the form of a malignant fever, swept away a large portion of the inhabitants, including twelve of their instructors.

The island of Toobouai. Another island of the group which lays claim to our attention is Toobouai, which is situated in lat. 23° 30′ S. and long. 149° 20′ W. being about twelve miles in cir-

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 375.

cumference. It was discovered by Cook in the course of his third voyage, and has obtained a certain celebrity from being the first place at which the mutineers touched after having taken possession of the Bounty. It was subsequently approached by the Duff, the crew of which, in February 1797, saw it at the distance of thirty miles, just as the shades of night were about to veil its scenery and inhabitants from their eyes. It is supposed to have been but recently peopled by the natives of a neighbouring island, who, when sailing to some other quarter, were driven thither by a violent gale.

The author of the Researches, who landed at Toobouai in the year 1817, describes it as hilly and verdant; and being surrounded by a coral reef, is well protected from the pressure of the heavy waves which roll in that latitude. The population appeared but small, and their means did not seem equal to the maintenance of a greatly increased number: only one pig was taken on board, a proof that their stock of provisions was not ample. Mr Ellis mentions, that the day after their arrival two or three men belonging to the Low Archipelago came on board the vessel, and asked the captain for a passage to Otaheite. Upon his inquiring their purpose, they replied that, some weeks before, they had left that island to return to their native place, but, being drifted by contrary winds out of their course, they ultimately reached Toobouai; that shortly after they landed, the inhabitants fiercely attacked them, seized their property, and broke their canoe; and that they now wished to acquaint Pomare with their misfortune, who, they hoped, as sovereign of both countries, would command a full indemnification of their losses, and by supplying another boat, enable them to realize their first intentions. Two Europeans, who were on the island at the time, reported that they were very peaceable, and that the Toobouans had commenced the attack, because the strangers tried to persuade them to cast away their idols and believe in Jehovah, the only true God. Being asked why they did not resist the onset, and whether they were averse

Its inhabitants.

Their resistance of the gospel.

CHAP. V.

to war, they answered that they were taught to delight in battles, and were not at all afraid of the people among whom they had been cast. But, they added, when at Otaheite they had embraced the new religion, which taught them to do no murder, and even to love their enemies; wherefore they thought it better to lose their canoe and all their goods than to offend God by killing the assailants, or to disregard the injunctions of Jesus Christ. Being afterwards provided with a skiff, they returned for their companions, and finally completed their voyage, by debarking at the island whence they originally departed.

Their subsequent desire for instruction.

The inhabitants of Toobouai, who appear to have first heard of the gospel from these casual visiters, were at no distant period incited to make inquiry for themselves respecting its sublime doctrines and cheering consolations. In 1822, they sent messengers to Otaheite to request books and instructors. Their wishes were complied with; two native teachers were selected for that new province of evangelical labour; and Mr Nott accompanied them in order that he might preach to the converts, and make the necessary arrangements for future ministrations. The first fruits of this mission appeared in the reconciliation of two chiefs, who had actually taken the field to decide their quarrel in a fierce combat. On the following morning, they all attended public worship in a building erected for the purpose, where they heard a sermon on christian principle, duty, and hope. "It was truly gratifying to behold those who had only the day before expected to have been engaged in shedding each other's blood, now mingled in one quiet and attentive assembly, where the warriors of rival chieftains might be seen sitting side by side, listening to the gospel of peace." But here, as elsewhere, the prospects of the teachers were not fully realized. A certain reaction usually followed the introduction of the new faith in most of the islands, originating, it has been supposed, in public distress, which was not unnaturally ascribed to the anger of the gods whose service had been abandoned.

Disappointment of their teachers.

About the period in question, a fatal epidemic prevailed throughout the whole Archipelago, and swept off many of the people. The missionaries continued their labours, and the effects of the pestilence gradually disappeared; but it was remarked in 1829, when they were visited by a deputation from Otaheite, that although the industry of the inhabitants and their advancement in civilisation were gratifying, their progress in learning was but small, and the ignorance or stupidity of the children discouraging. Less attention, too, was paid to the teachers than formerly; and a considerable agitation prevailed, owing to the unpopular nature of some laws transmitted by King Pomare, and the want of decision in the persons vested with local authority.*

Slow progress in intelligence.

* This island, it is remarked in the text, derived some celebrity from being the temporary retreat of the mutineers who seized the Bounty. The verses composed by Lord Byron in reference to the unfortunate Fletcher Christian and his companions in guilt are well known, and have been frequently quoted; still, being not only beautiful in themselves, but appropriate to the occasion, we hesitate not to transcribe a small portion. The poem from which the extract is made is entitled, "The Island, or Christian and his Comrades."

"Young hearts, which languish'd for some sunny isle,
Where summer years and summer women smile;
Men without country, who, too long estranged,
Had found no native home, or found it changed,
And, half uncivilized, preferr'd the cave
Of some soft savage to the uncertain wave—
The gushing fruits that nature gave untill'd;
The wood without a path but where they will'd;
The field o'er which promiscuous Plenty pour'd
Her horn; the equal land without a lord;
The wish—which ages have not yet subdued
In man—to have no master save his mood;
The earth, whose mine was on its face, unsold,
The glowing sun and produce all its gold;
The freedom which can call each grot a home;
The general garden, where all steps may roam,
Where Nature owns a nation as her child,
Exulting in the enjoyment of the wild;
Their shells, their fruits, the only wealth they know,
Their unexploring navy, the canoe;
Their sport, the dashing breakers and the chase;
Their strangest sight an European face:—

CHAP. V.

The island of Rurutoo.

Rurutoo, another member of the same group, is worthy of a place in the annals of missionary labours, as being the scene of a great triumph gained by the spirit of truth and civilisation over error and barbarism. This island was discovered by Captain Cook, who describes it under the native appellation of Ohcteroa, and is situated in lat. 22° 27′ S. and long. 150° 47′ W. It is clearly of volcanic origin, presenting a mountainous surface, beautifully diversified, with a stripe of land along the beach, which is protected by a continuous reef of coral. The conversion of the inhabitants is ascribed to a contagious disease with which they were visited in the year 1820.

Ravages of a pestilence.

Their number being reduced by its ravages to about two hundred, Anura, a young chief, resolved to seek a prolongation of life by betaking himself to sea, in which determination he was joined by some others. After sundry adventures, they landed at Raiatea, where they were kindly received by the inhabitants; under whose direction they soon afterwards visited the dwellings of the missionaries, the native Christians, the chapel, and schools. When sufficiently instructed, they farther pro-

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Such was the country which these strangers yearn'd
To see again; a sight they dearly earn'd."

"How pleasant were the songs of Toobouai,
When summer's sun went down the coral bay!
Come, let us to the islet's softest shade,
And hear the warbling birds! the damsels said:
The wood-dove from the forest depth shall coo,
Like voices of the gods from Bolotoo;
We'll cull the flowers that grow above the dead,
For these most bloom where rests the warrior's head;
And we will sit in twilight's face, and see
The sweet moon glancing through the tooa tree,
The lofty accents of whose sighing bough
Shall sadly please us as we lean below;
Or climb the steep, and view the surf in vain
Wrestle with rocky giants o'er the main,
Which spurn in columns back the baffled spray.
How beautiful are these! how happy they,
Who, from the toil and tumult of their lives,
Steal to look down where nought but ocean strives!
Even he too loves at times the blue lagoon,
And smooths his ruffled mane beneath the moon."

ceeded to renounce their own superstitions, to take part in public worship, and finally to make an open profession of the gospel. CHAP. V.

They were now seized with a strong desire to communicate to their countrymen the valuable knowledge which they themselves had just received; and as an English ship happened to arrive, the captain generously consented to give them a passage to Rurutoo. Two native believers, with their wives, were, at the request of Anura, selected to accompany them; and accordingly, in July 1821, they all embarked for his paternal island, which they reached after a voyage of three days. At their debarkation, the Raiatean teachers, ignorant that they had touched consecrated ground, performed a christian rite which the inhabitants firmly believed would be punished by a visible manifestation of wrath on the part of the divinities; but finding that the sacrilege was allowed to pass unrevenged, they readily yielded to the suggestion that their gods, having no power, were no longer worthy of the costly oblations presented by their votaries. Anura set the example of dismissing his idol, of which he made a present to the captain who had conveyed him and his party from Raiatea. Having invited the whole population to meet him, the zealous chief began his address by relating to them the principal incidents of his late voyage, alluding to their apprehension, "that he had been eaten by the evil spirit in the depths of the sea." He assured them that, on the contrary, God had led him by a way which he knew not, to a land where teachers dwelt, and where the divine word grew and flourished; and that he had returned to them for the purpose of communicating the compassion of Jehovah, the name of the Son of God, and the work of the Holy Spirit in enlightening their hearts. To this address the king and the leaders of the people replied, "we will receive the Word of Life, and let every thing made by our hands as an object of worship be totally destroyed in the fire." The multitude there, as in all other parts of the world, easily susceptible of a prevailing impulse,

Introduction of Christian teacher.

Renunciation of idolatry.

CHAP. V.

and not averse to change, with reason, or without it, instantly hurled their images from the places they had so long occupied, burnt to the ground three of their sacred dwellings, and, on the same day, proceeded in a body to the demolition of their temples.*

A cargo of rejected idols.

After remaining about a month in Rurutoo, the boatmen from Raiatea returned home, having their little vessel loaded with the rejected idols; a token of success which was received with great thankfulness and satisfaction by the christian community in the former island. A meeting was held in the large chapel to communicate the delightful tidings to the people at large, and to offer praise to God for the triumph with which he had graciously crowned the first effort in that quarter to extend the knowledge of his name. The building was lighted up with ten chandeliers made of wood neatly turned; cocoa-nut shells were substituted for lamps. The middle chandelier held eighteen lights, twelve in the lower circle and six in the upper; the others held ten and twelve each. When lighted up, they presented to the natives a most brilliant appearance, which called forth expressions of astonishment and pleasure. In the course of the evening the degraded idols were exhibited from the pulpit, one of which, in particular, the national god of Rurutoo, excited considerable interest, being esteemed by his ignorant devotees as the ancestor of their tribe, the patriarch by whom their island was originally peopled. Tamatoa, the king, addressed the meeting, encouraging his subjects to persevere in their good work. "Let us," he exclaimed, "continue to give our oil and arrow-root to God, that the blind may see and the deaf hear."†

Exhibition of these at Raiatea.

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 399.

† About this period the missionaries, who feared that they had become a burden to the society at home, began to induce the islanders among whom they laboured to contribute somewhat towards supporting the funds. The ship Hope, which conveyed Auura to his own island, had on board eighty tons of cocoa-nut oil, an offering from the Christians of Otaheite. George the Fourth, upon being informed of this circumstance, gave orders that the duty should be remitted, which enhanced the value of the property £400. The total amount, therefore,

In 1822, when the island was visited by a missionary, it was found that many of the Rurutooans had learned to read, and some to write; and as a proof of their pacific habits, the railing round the table in front of the pulpit was composed of the handles of spears, no longer required for their original use. After the lapse of two years, Mr Ellis again set foot amongst them, travelled across their mountains from one station to another, and conversed freely with the inhabitants, not a few of whom were living in comfortable dwellings, and wearing decent clothing. Industry, activity, and cheerfulness were every where manifest, and the general improvement steadily advancing. In 1829, when Mr Williams inspected their affairs, he was called to perform the pleasing duty of opening a new church, sixty feet long and forty wide, and found that on both sides of the island education had been so well received that there was scarcely an adult who could not read.*

Progress of the Rurutooans.

The only other island we shall mention as belonging to this cluster is Rimatara, situated westward of Toobouai, and a little farther north. Its circumference does not exceed twenty miles; and though more elevated than those of the coral formation, it does not rise to any great height above the level of the ocean. Being protected by a reef, the land on the seaside is valuable; the hills are clothed with trees and shrubs; while the valleys yield the fruits common to that region of the earth. The population is estimated at three hundred; and they are described as a quiet gentle race, who find a regular occupation in the simplest employments of agriculture and fishing. They seem not to be chargeable with the immoralities which stain the character of their neighbours

The island of Rimatara.

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thus conveyed to the directors in London was about £1800. The policy of such demands on the industry and piety of the converts may be doubted, as not unlikely to excite the suspicion of mercenary views in their teachers. Such donations elsewhere have been regarded as the basis of a commercial intercourse which reflected no favourable light on the christian cause.—Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 38.

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 404.

CHAP. V. in the Society Isles, and more especially in the Low Archipelago. Their sources of enjoyment are more scanty, but, in compensation, their crimes and sufferings are much fewer.

We owe our knowledge of their sequestered dwelling entirely to the exertions of the missionaries; for, though the natives of the more northern groups had some faint notion of the existence of an island and a small people at a greater distance than themselves from the equator, they could give no such directions as would have led to a discovery. When Anura returned to his own country from Raiatea, he found there a number of the inhabitants of Rimatara, who, after receiving christian instruction, made haste to convey the same blessing to their kinsmen at home. In the month of June 1822, the brethren in Bolabola sent two of their body to assist them in this benevolent undertaking, and, besides the elements of religion, to teach the important arts of reading and writing. They applied themselves with diligence to the accomplishment of their object, and such was the success with which their endeavours were attended, that when the author of the Missionary Enterprises visited them, about fifteen months afterwards, he found that the people at large had renounced their idols, and were living in the utmost harmony. They had erected a building for divine worship, the walls of which were plastered, and the floor regularly boarded. The congregation, amounting to nearly three hundred, presented a most interesting sight. The females were neatly dressed in white cloth of their own manufacture, and all wearing bonnets which the wives of the teachers had taught them to make. "Men who had grown old in the service of idolatry, and who had never met for worship but in a heathen temple, now assembled to render homage to the living God. The venerable figures, whose heads were gray with years, appeared in striking contrast with the youth and sprightliness of the children by whom they were surrounded." During the service all were attentive and apparently deeply interested. At this

Christianization of Rimatara.

Appearance of the converts.

time the entire population were under instruction, including a hundred and thirty boys and girls.* CHAP. V.

A great improvement has also been effected in their moral sentiments and social intercourse. The missionaries, on their first arrival, found great cause to lament that, though their habits were in many respects mild and humane, they subjected the women to the most humiliating drudgery. They were compelled to labour in the cultivation of the soil, while their husbands and brothers spent their hours in indolence or amusement; a practice which continued some time after the conversion of the whole people to the gospel, which sanctions no such disparity in the sexes. To remedy this evil, a meeting was held in the year 1825, when one of the preachers proposed a change in their usages as far as the employment of the females was concerned. No sooner was it explained than every chief present expressed his opinion in favour of the meditated reform; and their deliberations ended in a unanimous resolution that thenceforth "the men should dig, plant, and prepare the food, and the women make cloth and bonnets, and attend to their household work." The change thus introduced, by establishing a suitable division of labour, has proved favourable to domestic virtue and social happiness, while it has greatly augmented all the means of subsistence. Aware that their comfort depends essentially on a knowledge of the arts, they sent one of their number to Bolabola, a distance of nearly four hundred miles, to learn the trade of a carpenter and other branches, in order that on his return he might communicate his acquirements to others.†

Their former usages.

Progress of the useful arts.

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* Researches, vol. iii. p. 391. Mr Williams (Enterprises, p. 363) says, "I have not spoken of any of my visits to Rimatara, a beautiful little island, about seventy miles west of Rurutoo. We first heard of it from Anura; and Christianity being established at Rurutoo, we succeeded in imparting the same blessing to the inhabitants of Rimatara. Messrs Thorlkeld and Orsmond were the first Europeans who visited it."

† Missionary Chronicle, No. XLI. p. 271. Ellis, vol. iii. p. 393.

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Recent discovery of a group of islands.

About four years ago, notice was given to the public of the discovery of a group of islands in the Low Archipelago which do not appear in any map or chart. The Actæon, a ship of war, commanded by Lord Edward Russell, while on the passage from Otaheite to Pitcairn's Island, discovered land, and being within three miles of the most western island, bearing north-north-west, made out three low wooded ones, with a heavy surf on the beach, and no appearance of anchorage. The most distant appeared to have a lagoon in the centre, with a reef extending about three quarters of a mile from its north-western and south-eastern extremes. The names assigned to them, respectively, were Bedford, Minto, and Melbourne; and from a chart made by the master of the Actæon, it appears that they stretch about thirteen miles from north-west to south-east. The middle one was conjectured to be about five miles in length, but there were no traces of inhabitants.

The positions were determined by means of three good chronometers, when seven days from Otaheite, and eight before arriving at Pitcairn's Island, so that it may be presumed there can be little doubt as to the correct situation of the group. It is in the same parallel and about sixty miles to the westward of Hood's Island. There is reason to believe that several others are known to the navigators in those remote seas, though they have not found their way into the compilation of any hydrographer.

Other islands obscurely known.

Of these may be mentioned the Amphitrite and Maria Islands, discovered by Mr Ebrill, the master of an Otaheitan merchantman; the latter being considered identical with one seen by M. Denis in the month of December 1835. Such discoveries, in truth, must from time to time continue to be made in that vast ocean, where volcanic agency, combined with the labours of the zoophyte, never ceases to stud the surface of the deep with points of new land.*

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London, vol. vii. p. 454. Bulletin de la Société de Géographie, August 1837; and Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. vi. p. 441.

CHAPTER VI.

Hervey or Cook's Islands.

Hervey Islands discovered by Cook—His Mistake as to Inhabitants—Their first Visit to the English Ship—Behaviour and Appearance—Number of Islands—A Chief goes on board at Mangaia—Population and Extent of it—Position of Atiu, and Number of Inhabitants—Singular Mistake as to the Animals in the Ship—Omai meets Natives of Society Islands—Account of their Voyage—Discovery of Aitutaki—Its Position and Appearance—Mauke discovered by two Missionaries—Mr Williams reaches Rarotonga—Gospel introduced into Aitutaki—Appearance of People—Visit of Missionaries to Mangaia—Their brutal Reception—Inhabitants converted to the Gospel—Success of the Teachers at Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke—Remarks by Captain Lord Byron—Rarotonga receives the Gospel from Papeiha, a native Teacher—Rapid Success of Christianity—Mr Williams again visits Rarotonga—Introduction of sundry new Laws among the People—Polygamy and the Principle of Succession to Property—Hervey Islands exposed to Hurricanes—Epidemic Diseases—Numerous Deaths in 1831—Children greatly improved by Missionaries—Difficulties with the adult Pupils—Aversion to attend Church—Expedient adopted by the Preachers—Favourable Contrast as to Rarotonga—Continued Progress of Knowledge and Civilisation—Case of a Chief—Number of Persons in Congregations and Schools—Religion must precede all other Improvements.

CHAP. VI. — Discovery of the Hervey Islands.

The islands which form the subject of this chapter were discovered in 1773 by the renowned Cook, who named what he considered the principal one of the group in honour of Captain Hervey, at that time a Lord of the Admiralty, and afterwards Earl of Bristol. Upon approaching its shore, he found it to consist of two or three

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small islets connected together by breakers, like most of the same class in the South Sea, lying in a triangular form, and about six leagues in circumference. It was clothed with wood, among which were many cocoa-nut trees; but he saw no people, nor appearance of dwellings, and had reason to believe there were none. According to his observations, the latitude is 19° 18′ south, and the longitude 158° 54′ west. In 1823, when visited by a missionary, it was ascertained that in regard to occupation the great navigator had concluded too hastily. It was, no doubt, found that the miserable natives, by their frequent wars, had reduced their number to about sixty; and seven years later, this small remnant was, by the same cause, still farther diminished, to five men, three women, and two children, who were disturbed by a violent contest which of them should be king. Captain Cook, indeed, long before the period of missionary enterprise, had corrected his mistake in regard to the supposition just mentioned. On the 6th April 1777, when he again drew near it, he observed several canoes put off from the shore, and direct their course towards the ships. "This was a sight that surprised me," says he, "as no signs of inhabitants were seen when the island was first discovered; which might be owing to a pretty brisk wind that then blew, and prevented their canoes venturing out as the ships passed to leeward, whereas now we were to windward." He describes his visiters as clamorous and disorderly in the extreme, having, at the same time, all the suspicion and thievish propensities of the Polynesian race. They attempted to take some oars out of the Discovery's boat, and struck a man who endeavoured to prevent them. They also cut away with a shell a net with meat which hung over the ship's side, and absolutely refused to restore it. Behaving in the most daring manner, they made a sort of hook of a long stick, with which they openly endeavoured to rob the crew of whatever came within their reach. They had a fierce surly aspect, resembling in features the natives of New Zealand, with strong black hair, which they wore either

The inhabitants.

Their thievishness.

hanging loose about the shoulders, or tied in a bunch on the crown of the head.*

The Hervey Islands are seven in number, which, besides the one now specified, are Mangaia, Atiu, Mitiaro, Mauke, Aitutaki, and Rarotonga. The first of these was discovered by Captain Cook, on the 29th March 1777. Being near the shore, he could perceive with his glass that several of the natives, who appeared upon a sandy beach, were armed with long spears and clubs, which they brandished in the air with signs of threatening. Most of them were naked, but a few had pieces of cloth of different colours, white, striped, or chequered, which they wore as a garment, thrown about the shoulders. They had a kind of sandal, made of a grassy substance ingeniously woven, which seemed intended to defend their feet against the coral rock. Their beards were long; and the inside of their arms, from the shoulder to the elbow, was tattooed, after the manner of the other islanders in those latitudes. The lobe of the ear was pierced, or rather slit, and to such a length that one of them stuck into it a knife and some beads which he had received from the sailors. Mourooa, a chief, accompanied the captain on board, where the cattle and other new objects presented to his view did not strike him with so much surprise as was expected. His mind, indeed, seemed to be so deeply occupied with thoughts about his own safety, that he was incapable of attending to any other thing. Going out of the cabin, he happened to stumble over a goat; and his curiosity now overcoming his fear, he looked at it, and asked what bird it was. Mangaia lies in lat. 21° 57′ S., and long. 158° 3′ W. Such parts of it as fell under the notice of the discoverers were guarded by a coral reef, on the outside of which the sea is of an unfathomable depth. It is fully five

Their savageness.

Behaviour of a chief.

* A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World, performed in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the years 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1775, written by James Cook, Commander of the Resolution (2 vols, London, 1779), vol. i. p. 190. Missionary Enterprises, p. 18.

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leagues in circuit, and in the middle rises into little hills, whence there is a gentle descent to the shore. This declivity is covered with trees of a deep green colour, very thick, but not tall, among which are numbers of that species of dracæna found in the woods of New Zealand as well as in some other places. "Upon the whole," concludes the navigator, "the island has a pretty aspect, and might be made a beautiful place by cultivation."*

The island of Mangaia.

On the authority of later observers, we may remark that Mangaia, which is estimated to be about twenty or twenty-five miles in circumference, rises to a greater height than was supposed by Cook, who did not land. The population is stated by the missionaries to exceed two thousand, though the grounds on which their calculations are founded, do not challenge an unlimited confidence. This island presents a peculiarity of conformation which may be traced throughout nearly the whole group; the surrounding reef every where joins the shore, and hence there is neither an entrance for boats nor a safe anchorage for ships.

The island of Atiu.

Atiu, or Wateoo, as it was called by the distinguished officer already so often named, is situated in lat. 20° S., and long. 158° 15′ W. In circuit its dimensions are understood to be not less than twenty miles; its surface is hilly; its general aspect is that of romantic beauty; and the number of inhabitants is said to fall somewhat short of two thousand. It was discovered by him in the month of March 1777, and he soon afterwards opened an amicable intercourse with the simple natives. A canoe appeared alongside the Resolution, having twelve men on board, who, as they drew near, recited some words in concert, by way of chorus, one of their number first standing up and giving the signal before each repetition. When first conducted into the cabin, some objects seemed to strike them with great surprise; but nothing fixed their attention for a moment. They were afraid to go near the cows and horses,

* A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere (3 vols, London, 1785), vol. i. p. 177.

nor could they form the least conception of their nature. The sheep and goats, however, did not surpass the limits of their comprehension; they at once took them for birds. "It will appear rather incredible," observes the captain, "that human ignorance could ever make so strange a mistake; there not being the most distant similitude between a sheep or goat and any winged animal. But these people seemed to know nothing of the existence of any other land animals besides hogs, dogs, and birds. Our sheep and goats, they could see, were very different creatures from the two first, and therefore they inferred that they must belong to the latter class, in which they knew there is a considerable variety of species."

Ignorance of the natives

The most remarkable incident connected with this visit to Atiu, was a meeting which took place between the celebrated Omai, now on his return home, and three of his own countrymen, natives of the Society Islands. At the distance of not less than six hundred miles, an unknown ocean intervening, and with such imperfect boats as their inhabitants are known to use, this event might be regarded as one of those feigned occurrences which writers of imagination produce in order to excite the astonishment or amuse the fancy of their readers. Their story, as related by themselves, is not a little affecting. About twenty persons of both sexes had embarked in a canoe at Otaheite, to cross over to the neighbouring island of Raiatea; but a violent wind arising, they could neither reach the one nor get back to the other. As the intended voyage was short, their stock of provisions was soon exhausted; and the sufferings they endured, while driven before the tempest they knew not whither, were exceedingly great. They passed some days without having any thing either to eat or drink. Worn out by famine, their numbers gradually diminished, till only four men survived; and at length their small vessel being overset, hope itself nearly deserted them. But, unwilling to resign life so long as any means remained whereby it might possibly be saved, they continued to cling to the

Drift of a Tahitian canoe to Atiu.

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sides of their skiff until they came in sight of Atiu, the inhabitants of which removed them from the wreck, and carried them ashore. Of the four thus rescued, one had subsequently died; but so well satisfied were the survivors with their situation, that they refused the offer made by the English commander to restore them to their own country. The similarity of manners and language had quite naturalized them to their new abode; and the connexions which they had formed in the island, and which, after a residence of twelve years, it would have been painful to break off, sufficiently account for their declining to revisit the place of their birth.*

The island of Aitutaki

For their first acquaintance with Aitutaki, the geographers of Europe are indebted to the indefatigable researches of the same distinguished navigator. Like the other members of the archipelago, it is surrounded with a reef; presents a rich and variegated landscape; and rises to a considerable elevation above the waters of the great ocean by which its shores are constantly washed. Its position is lat. 18° 54′ S., and long. 159° 41′ W. The population is conjectured to be about two thousand.

The islands of Mauke and Mitiaro.

Mauke, which was discovered by two christian teachers, in the year 1823, lies a little farther south, and two degrees more to the eastward. Being about fifteen miles in circumference, it is capable of maintaining a considerable population; but, a short time before it became known to our countrymen, the inhabitants had been attacked by an enemy, and their numbers reduced to three hundred. A similar visitation had nearly exterminated the natives of Mitiaro, a smaller island of the same description, and situated about twenty miles north-west of the former.

Rarotonga, the most important of the whole, having

* A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 200. This fact, as Cook justly remarks, "will serve to explain better than a thousand conjectures of speculative reasoners, how the detached parts of the earth, and, in particular, how the islands of the South Sea may have been first peopled; especially those which lie remote from any inhabited continent, or from each other."

a population of not less than six thousand, was, as will be immediately related, added to the Hervey cluster by the late Mr Williams, a zealous servant of the gospel, and favourably known to the public as the author of "Missionary Enterprises." It was found in lat. 21° 20′ S., and long. 160° W.; is thirty miles in circumference, and surrounded with a reef, which, nevertheless, permits some good harbours. At a little distance, it appears to the eye like a mountainous mass, but it is found to contain fine valleys, and most romantic scenery. The aggregate number of inhabitants in the seven islands is computed at sixteen thousand, which, however, varies according to the healthiness and abundance of the seasons.

The island of Rarotonga.

Of all this group, the gospel was first introduced into Aitutaki. Proceeding from Rurutoo, the missionary just named touched at that insular spot, and was immediately surrounded by canoes. The natives were noisy, and presented in their persons and manners all the wild features of savage life. Some were tattooed from head to foot; some were painted most fantastically with pipe-clay and various-coloured ochre, while others were smeared with charcoal; but all were dancing, shouting, and exhibiting the most whimsical gestures. The chief, who went on board, being informed that idolatry was abolished in the Society Islands, and that all the gods were consumed with fire, lent a ready ear to the proposal of receiving teachers who should instruct his people in the true faith. He forthwith promised protection to his new guides, and saluting them heartily by rubbing noses, he paddled away with them to the nearest landing-place.

Exploratory search for it.

At Aitutaki there were two natives of an adjacent island, to which they were desirous of carrying the glad tidings which they themselves had just received. This was no other than Rarotonga, as yet unknown to every European adventurer, but of which there were many traditions afloat, as well in the tales circulated among the people, as in the conversation of the more aged of their number. It was therefore resolved, that with the view of discovering the birthplace of the two converts, a special voyage

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should be undertaken under the direction of Mr Williams, in which they were invited to take a part. This project met with no encouragement in the first instance; the missionaries being assured that the Rarotongans were a most ferocious class of men, avowed cannibals, and moreover exceedingly treacherous.

Mission to Mangaia.

After a fruitless search of eight days, without discovering any symptom of land in the direction indicated, the party steered their course for Mangaia. Their reception in that island was by no means flattering. The natives, uncertain as to their purpose in visiting their solitary residence, attempted to repel them by menaces, and even by a more hostile demonstration; nor was it until they saw the teachers resolved to set foot amongst them, that they conceded a reluctant permission. But no sooner did the zealous missionaries reach the shore, than a general attack was made upon their persons and properties. One of them had a saw, which the savages seized, broke into three pieces, and tied to their ears as ornaments. There were also two pigs, animals which they had never before seen; and these were appropriated by a chief, who, decorating them in his own official robes, sent the unclean quadrupeds into the presence of his gods. But their conduct to the teachers' wives was still more offensive. They carried them by force into the adjoining woods, and were proceeding to treat them with great brutality, when, terrified by the report of a gun fired from the ship, they betook themselves to flight. The chief, informed of this violence, expressed the deepest regret; but stated, that in his island, "all heads being of an equal height," he was not able to protect them, and, therefore, much as he wished them to stay, he would rather that they did not go ashore again.

Triumph of the gospel there.

Unpromising as this commencement was, not more than a few months elapsed before the gospel obtained an ardent acceptation in Mangaia. Soon after the visit just described, a disease broke out which proved exceedingly fatal; and ascribing this calamity to the anger excited

in the mind of the "strangers' god," by their recent atrocities, they made a vow, that if he would suspend the farther execution of his vengeance, they would receive his worshippers kindly, and give them food to eat. Hence, when two teachers, sent by the church at Tahaa, appeared on their coast, they were conducted to the principal village with the most lively congratulation, and encouraged to begin without delay their benevolent exertions for enlightening the people.

Mission to Atiu.

The next scene in which the labours of christian truth were undertaken was Atiu, whither some agents had been previously sent. When the deputation from London arrived, they found the teachers in a miserable condition, having been stripped of every article of property, suffering exceedingly from hunger, and much disheartened by their want of success. But Romatane, the chief, being induced to visit the ship, had the good fortune to hear a sermon against idolatry, founded on the words of Isaiah, "with part thereof he roasteth meat, and is satisfied; and the residue thereof he maketh a god, and worshippeth it, and prayeth unto it, and saith, deliver me, for thou art my god." The idea for the first time darted with irresistible force into his mind; and he perceived at once the excessive folly of making a god and cooking food from the same tree. He appeared for some time lost in deep reflection; and at length he expressed his determination never again to worship idols, saying, "eyes it is true they have, but wood cannot see; ears they have, but wood cannot hear."

Mission to Mitiaro.

After this profession on his own part, he accompanied the missionaries to Mitiaro, to propagate the same belief, and to introduce a similar reformation. Using an authority which belonged to him as the ruling chief, he commanded the people to burn their temples, and to place themselves under the guidance of the persons whom he was about to leave, who would instruct them in the worship of Jehovah. Similar success attended his exertions at Mauke, of which he was likewise the sovereign. Tararo, the chief, with a number of the in-

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Mission to Mauke.

This conversion, though sudden, and arising from a feeling of loyalty rather than from the weight of evidence, appears to have taken root in the hearts of the people, and to have produced the usual happy results. Lord Byron, who touched at Mauke, or, as he writes it, Manti, in the year 1825, relates, that after he came to anchor, two persons, who, by their dress and appearance seemed to be of some importance, stepped on board; and, to his great surprise, produced a written document from that branch of the London Missionary Society which is established at Otaheite, qualifying them to act as native teachers in the island. They were, he adds, fine-looking men, dressed in cotton shirts, cloth jackets, and a sort of petticoat of very fine mat, instead of trousers. Having accompanied them ashore, he saw on a beautiful green lawn, "two of the prettiest washed cottages imaginable," the dwellings of the missionaries; and the inside corresponded with their exterior neatness. The floors were boarded; there were a sofa and some chairs of native workmanship; and windows with Venetian shutters, which rendered the apartments cool and agreeable. The rooms were divided from each other by

Dwelling-houses of the teachers.

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 90. Lord Byron, in allusion to this change, remarks: "thus in one day, and that the first in which a vessel from the civilized world touched them, the superstitions of ages were overturned, and the knowledge of the true God brought among a docile, and, generally speaking, innocent people."

screens; in one there was a bed of white tapa, and the floor was covered with the same material, coloured and varnished, which bore a great resemblance to oil-cloth. He was exceedingly struck with the appearance of cleanliness, and even of elegance, as well as with the decorous behaviour of the people, especially the women; contrasting strongly with the less reserved manners of the sex in the Sandwich Islands. He next accompanied the brethren to their church, which stands on a rising ground, about four hundred yards from the cottages. A fence, composed of the trunks of cocoa-nut trees, surrounds the area in which it is erected. Its form is oval, and the roof is supported by four pillars, which bear up the ridge. It is capable of containing four hundred persons. Two doors and twelve windows give it light and air; the pulpit and reading-desk are neatly carved, and painted with a variety of pretty designs; and the benches for the people are arranged neatly around. Close to this structure is the burial-place, which is a mound of earth covered with greensward; and the whole has an air of modest simplicity which delighted not less than surprised the gallant strangers.*

Their place of worship.

Rarotonga was at length discovered by the indefatigable missionaries, who, reflecting that there was still one island to which they had not conveyed the elements of improvement and religious knowledge, gave themselves no rest until they found it. From the king they received a most cordial welcome; and after narrating to him the circumstances which had attended the renunciation of idolatry in other places, they made known

Mission to Rarotonga

* Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands, in the years 1824, 1825, Captain the Right Honourable Lord Byron, commander (4to, London, 1826) p. 210. "On our return to the beach, one of the missionaries attended us. As we retraced our steps through the wood, the warbling of the birds, whose plumage was as rich as it was new to us,—the various-tinted butterflies that fluttered across our path—the delicious climate—the magnificent forest trees—and, above all, the perfect union and harmony existing among the natives—presented a succession of agreeable pictures which could not fail to delight us."—P. 212.

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their desire to extend the benefits of the gospel to his subjects, through the medium of native teachers. Various difficulties were encountered by the two brethren who landed under the auspices of Makea, the ruling chief; and as there was no immediate prospect that the demoralized state of society among the Rarotongans could be so much reformed as to justify the residence of married men, they resolved to transfer their services to some less savage tribe. One alone, the courageous Papeiha, determined to brave all danger rather than desert a station to which Divine Providence seemed to call him; and accordingly with no property besides the clothes he wore, his Testament in the native language, and a few elementary books, he advanced into the crowd of heathens, determined, through the help of his Maker, to wean their minds from the degrading superstition of which they had long been the victims. His zeal was rewarded with the success for which he so earnestly laboured and prayed. About a year after he began his task, the London deputation, already noticed, consisting of Mr Bennet and the Rev. Daniel Tyerman, visited the domains of Makea, and found the inhabitants, already converted to the truth, busily employed in erecting a place of christian worship six hundred feet in length.

Moral heroism of Papeiha.

One of the missionaries remarks, that "much has been said in Europe concerning the success of the gospel in Otaheite and the Society Islands, but it is not to be compared with its progress in Rarotonga. In the former, teachers laboured fifteen long years before any fruit appeared. But two years ago, Rarotonga was hardly known to exist, was not marked in any of the charts, and we spent much time in traversing the ocean in search of it. Two years ago, the Rarotongans did not know that there was such good news as the gospel: and now I scruple not to say that their attention to the means of grace, their regard to family and private prayer, equals whatever has been witnessed in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands. And when we look at the means, it becomes more astonishing. Two native teachers, not particularly

Christianization of Rarotonga.

distinguished among their own countrymen for intelligence, have been the instruments of effecting this wonderful change, and that before a single European missionary had set his foot upon the island."* CHAP. VI.

Williams' visit to Rarotonga.

In the year 1827, Mr Williams repaired to Rarotonga; and referring to the disorderly condition of the people when he formerly approached their shores, he aptly observes, that they were now "clothed and in their right mind." All the females wore bonnets, and were dressed in white cloth, while the men used clothes and hats of native manufacture. On the first Lord's day, a congregation of about four thousand assembled, a number much greater than their church could contain; and hence the necessity of a larger structure, which was forthwith provided, a hundred and fifty feet in length, well plastered and fitted up throughout with seats. Indeed, the attendance of the people on the means of grace, and their anxiety to understand the truths of the gospel, were truly encouraging. At the conclusion of every service, many of them followed the preachers home, and taking seats under the shade of the banana trees, by which their habitations were encircled, spent an hour or more in making inquiries respecting the subject of the address they had just heard.

Change in the laws.

The change produced in their circumstances by the introduction of the gospel, rendered it expedient that some alteration should be made in their laws. The chiefs themselves had already perceived the necessity of following the example of the rulers at Otaheite and in

* Communication from Mr Bourne, quoted in Missionary Enterprises, p. 112. We are informed that "some of the idols were torn to pieces; others were reserved to decorate the rafters of the chapel the natives proposed to erect, and one was kept to be sent to England, which is now in the Missionary Museum. It is not, however, so respectable in its appearance as when in its own country; for his majesty's custom-house officers, fearing lest the god should be made a vehicle for defrauding the exchequer, very unceremoniously took it to pieces; and not being so well skilled in making gods as in protecting the revenue, they have not made it so handsome as when it was an object of adoration to the deluded Rarotongans."—P. 117.

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the Society Islands, and of adopting a code of christian ethics as the basis of their judicial administration; for, as their civil polity was intimately connected with their sanguinary superstition, as soon as the one was subverted, the other ceased to have either authority or sanction.

Necessity for new laws.

The inhabitants of Rarotonga, like the other branches of the great Polynesian family, had at all times been addicted to theft; and as many of them who professed Christianity were influenced merely by example, no sooner had the powerful excitement, produced by passing from one state of society to another, subsided in their minds, than they returned to the habits in which they had been trained from their earliest years. The laws enacted by the lords of the island, being principally borrowed from Raiatea, were few in number, and drawn up in the plainest language, entirely divested of all the technicalities by which the statutes of more civilized countries are too frequently obscured.

Difficulties about polygamy.

Some delicate subjects presented themselves for discussion before the new rules of life could be finally established. Among these was polygamy; for, prior to the abolition of their idolatrous usages, this practice prevailed to a considerable extent, and when a person so circumstanced offered himself as a candidate for baptism, the teachers usually required that he should make a selection of one from among his wives, and provide for the support of those whom he should dismiss. This method of procedure was generally acceptable for a season; but some who had acceded to the proposed arrangement, afterwards reassembled the female members of their households, alleging as a reason for so soon returning to their ancient custom, that they were not aware the separation imposed upon them was meant to be more than temporary. It was therefore resolved to convene the people, and recommend that a choice should again be made of the spouse with whom each individual would consent to pass his life, and the marriage was immediately solemnized in the presence of the whole assembly. Knowing that the course pursued by the king would

form a precedent, the missionaries advised him to name publicly the individual he intended to make his future companion for better for worse; and of his three wives he chose the youngest, to whom he was immediately united in the bonds of christian matrimony in the presence of his people. Having this example to urge, they advanced to the consideration of the other cases, which they found little difficulty in settling; and for some time at least no inconvenience was experienced.

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Difficulties about other customs

Other obstacles arose from inveterate customs, which it was more easy to condemn than to reform. For instance, there was the unnatural practice called "Kukumi anga," which allowed a son as soon as he reached manhood to fight or wrestle with his father; and if he obtained the mastery, he might take forcible possession of the land previously occupied by his parent. Again, when a wife was bereft of her husband by the hand of death, his relations had a right to seize every article of value belonging to him, and to eject from the house the destitute widow with her helpless children. There was a third evil known amongst them by a term which might be translated "land-eating," or the unlawful possession of each other's grounds; but upon inquiry it was found to be a species of oppression in which so many individuals were involved, and also a point on which the feelings of all classes were so exquisitely sensitive, that to bring it into discussion would probably endanger the peace of the island. After all these preliminary matters had undergone mature deliberation, a general assembly was again convened, when the whole code of laws, having been distinctly read and carefully explained, was unanimously adopted by the chiefs and the people, as the ground on which public justice was ever to be administered in the island of Rarotonga.*

Popular adoption of the new laws.

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 138. Mr Williams, "in answer to the charge that the missionaries in the South Seas have assumed even regal authority," maintains that "no missionary in the Pacific ever possessed any such authority; that his influence is entirely of a moral character; and I may add, that

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The ground being thus prepared, the foundation of the spiritual building was laid. Many obstacles have been encountered, arising at once from physical and moral causes; but the great work has never ceased to advance, though the progress has not at all times been equal, nor the prospect of ultimate success altogether unclouded.

Hurricane.

The Hervey group is subject to occasional hurricanes, which overturn the houses and root out the plants, even in the most sheltered places; and these visitations are usually followed by severe famine, and not unfrequently by infectious distempers. On the 19th December 1831, a storm of the most frightful nature, which swept over Rarotonga, destroyed in a few hours every chapel and school-house, nearly all the native dwellings, and the greatest part of the most valuable trees in the island. The consequences of this calamity were deeply felt; for the people, generally improvident, and destitute of the means of making suitable provision for such an occurrence, suffered intensely owing to the want of food. The previous season, too, appears to have been unfavourable, the supply of bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts being very deficient. Encouraged by Mr Pitman, the chief missionary, the natives extended their plantations; but a large proportion of the new trees was destroyed, either by mischievous depredators, or by a destructive insect bearing some resemblance to the locust. To these evils was

Ravages of an epidemic.

added an epidemic, which was so general in its ravages, that in a population of nearly seven thousand, not more than ten or twelve individuals escaped infection. At one of the stations, called Ngatangiia, upwards of a thousand persons were seized with the distemper; and during two months, the deaths sometimes amounted to ten daily. It has since been ascertained that the number of victims at the several places under the inspection of the christian teachers, was not less than twelve hundred.

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there are no instances on record where men have used their influence less for their own aggrandizement, or more for the welfare of the people."

The reader who inspects the public communications from this part of Polynesia, will be convinced that the most gratifying results which have flowed from the exertions of christian teachers, are to be found in the improved character of the children. After the labour of a few years, the missionaries could boast that their schools were attended by three thousand young persons, all of whom had learned to read, repeat the catechism, and even refer to passages in the Bible, viewed as the basis of their creed. The adult pupils were neither so docile nor so industrious. Their minds, unaccustomed to exercise, could not put forth the powers of memory or judgment; they could not even combine syllables into words, nor master the simplest elements of literature, whether for amusement or instruction. Nay, it should seem, that after the first ardour was cooled, they had no desire to attend the lessons of their spiritual guides. These last candidly state, that many of the natives had become slack in their attendance on Sundays; upon which the chiefs sent a messenger to inform them, that they would employ the constables to make the people go to worship. It being contrary to the views of the preachers to allow coercion in such a case, they requested that they might be permitted to try some other method. The most pious and active Christians were immediately selected, who appropriated Saturday for the purpose of visiting every house, in order to hold religious conversation with the inmates; an expedient which was found so completely successful, that the chiefs never afterwards deemed it incumbent on them to interpose their authority with the view of securing a due regard to the solemn duties of the gospel. On several occasions there has been a tendency to backsliding; and on one emergency their old habits so far prevailed, that a civil war burst out, arms were resumed by the combatants on either side, and blood was shed in the field of battle. But the mediation of the missionaries calmed their angry spirits; the club and bow were laid aside; and now the most sanguinary of their

Prosperity of the sc'ools.

Visiting from house to house.

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number express satisfaction that they can live together in unity, and even cultivate the benevolent affections one towards another.

High triumph of Christianity.

The following remarks made by an active minister in those islands, present an outline of the happy effects produced by Christianity, which cannot be charged with the slightest exaggeration:—"In reference to Rarotonga, I cannot forbear drawing a contrast between the state of the inhabitants when I first visited them in 1823, and that in which I left them in 1834. In 1823, I found them all heathens; in 1834, they were all professing Christians. At the former period, I found them with idols and marais; these, in 1834, were destroyed, and in their stead there were three spacious and substantial places of christian worship, in which congregations, amounting to six thousand persons, assembled every Sabbath-day. I found them without a written language; and left them reading in their own tongue the "wonderful works of God."—"I found them without a knowledge of the Sabbath; and when I left them, no manner of work was done on that sacred day. When I found them in 1823, they were ignorant of the nature of christian worship; and when I left them in 1834, I am not aware that there was a house in the island where family prayer was not observed every morning and every evening. I speak not this boastingly; for our satisfaction arises not from receiving such honours, but in casting them at the Saviour's feet."—"What has been said of Rarotonga, is equally applicable to the whole Hervey group; for, with the exception of a few at Mangaia, I believe there does not remain a single idolater, or vestige of idolatry, in any one of the islands. I do not assert that all the people are real Christians; but I merely state the delightful fact, that the inhabitants of this entire group have, in the short space of ten years, abandoned a dark, debasing, and sanguinary idolatry, with all its horrid rites; and it does appear to me that, if nothing more had been effected, this alone would compensate for

Extirpation of idolatry.

all the privations, and labours, and expense, by which it has been effected."* CHAP. VI.

The latest reports from the Hervey Islands confirm the anticipations to which such facts had given birth in the mind of every one who takes an interest in the condition of the heathen. In Rarotonga, the christian churches present an animating aspect, both as it respects their character and growing numbers. Education is eagerly sought both by the aged and the young; and the moral character of the people, which, but a few years ago, was equally loathsome and terrific, is now generally marked by the pure influence of Christianity. In that church, one of the most consistent members, and an active evangelist, was in the days of his youth a cannibal; and at another station, where the natives lately met to form a missionary society for the improvement of those islands in the Pacific which are still as wretched, as their own once was, a christian chief appeared as an advocate in the cause of religion and humanity, who, in the dark days of heathenism, was a great warrior, and generally appeared with human flesh appended to his shoulder as a badge of honour. "I have lived," said he, "to behold a new and wonderful thing—the gathering together of the people to send the word of the true God. It is true, we formerly used to assemble, but it was either to plan attacks of murder, or to flee from attacks made by the enemy. We then met in fear, with hearts filled with envy and malice, and dared not assemble our wives and our children; but now the darkness has fled, and the light of the true sun has shone upon us, Jesus the Lord from heaven. The spears of our wars are lost, and we hold in our hands the sword of the Spirit, the word of the Lord: we bring with us our wives and children, and feel that our hearts are filled with love one towards another. We not only love those of our own sentiment, but we love all, and are loved by all; and above all, this day we have met to show the

Christian prosperity in Rarotonga.

Contrast drawn by a native.

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 574.

CHAP VI. gospel to those who are, as we were, living in darkness, having no God and no hope; this is a new and a wonderful event brought about by the great love of the Almighty."*

Proportion of communicants. It deserves to be mentioned, that the proportion which the number of communicants bears to the large congregations who attend divine service is very small. Indeed, it was not until the missionaries had laboured ten years among the heathen of Cook's Islands that a church, in their sense of the term, was regularly constituted, or any natives admitted to the more solemn sacrament. Even then, not more than six were thought sufficiently instructed to commemorate with due knowledge and devotion the death of the Redeemer. At present, the members may be stated at three hundred, most of whom have been regularly catechised and watched with a vigilant eye by the several ministers, whose cause and character are felt to be at stake. Concerning Ngatangiia, the superintendent writes that the congregation amounts to about eighteen hundred, and that since the formation of the church in 1833, a hundred and sixty-eight baptized persons have been received into its fellowship. Of these, twenty-two have been removed by death, and seven have been sent forth as native teachers. The schools, including those held on Sunday, contain a thousand children; and in the adult seminaries, the number under instruction is three hundred and eighty. At Titikaveka, another station in the same island, the congregation is not less than seven hundred; the children at school are four hundred and ninety, and the adults upwards of two hundred. At Avarua, a third station, the congregation amounts to thirteen hundred; the members to ninety-one; the young pupils are five hundred and ninety-nine; and the older ones are rated at four hundred and ninety. The congregation at Arorangi is given at eleven hundred; the communicants fifty-six; the children under

Statistics of the stations

* Forty-seventh Report of the Missionary Society, for the year 1841, p. 4.

instruction five hundred and twenty, and the adults four hundred and fifty-five. Similar statements might be given illustrating the progress of divine knowledge and civilisation in Aitutaki, Atiu, Maute, Mangaia, and Mitiaro. In the smaller islands, indeed, all the inhabitants are Christians; give due heed to the ordinances of religion; and manifest an eager desire to have their children instructed in the principles of their creed, as well as in the arts which minister to the happiness and embellishment of social life.*

General social improvement.

The attention of the reader must have been arrested by the fact, that the blessings conveyed to the natives of Polynesia are not confined to benefactions of a purely spiritual nature, but have extended also to commerce, manufactures, and general improvement. It is indeed manifest that, while the missionaries devoted their best energies to the instruction of the people in the truths of the christian faith, they have at the same time been anxious to impart a knowledge of all that is calculated to increase their comforts and elevate their characters. It is maintained, with considerable force of argument, that until a people are brought under the influence of religion, they have no desire for the arts and usages of civilized life. The English teachers were in Otaheite many years, during which they built and furnished houses in the European style; but though the natives saw these, not one of them imitated the example. As soon, however, as they were brought under the influence of Christianity, the chiefs and even the common people began to erect neat cottages, and to manufacture bedsteads, seats, and other articles suited for domestic accommodation. The females had long observed the dress of the missionaries' wives; but as long as they continued heathens, they greatly preferred their own, and there was not a single attempt at imitation. No sooner, however, were they converted to the laws of the gospel, than they all aspired to the possession of a gown, a bonnet,

Adoption of British customs.

* Forty-fifth Report of the Missionary Society, p. 14-16.

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and a shawl, that they might appear like christian women. In a word, while the islanders were under the influence of their superstitions, they were bound by a feeling of torpor from which no stimulus was found sufficiently powerful to rouse them, until the new ideas were imparted to their minds by European evangelists. Hence there is reason to expect that the experience of a few more years will remove all doubt as to the fact that missionary enterprise is the most effectual means that has ever been employed to advance the social, civil, and commercial, as well as the moral and spiritual interests of mankind.*

Wide sweep of missionary influence.

All their pursuits, indeed, in their unconverted state, were regulated and inspired by a religious feeling. Even their most atrocious crimes, human sacrifice and infanticide, had a reference to the authority of the gods and the practice of their deified chiefs. The sanction of heaven was supposed to warrant the darkest scenes that clouded the intercourse of their countrymen in their heathen state; hence, when they adopted a new faith, they were prepared by their former association of ideas to admit a change of habits, extending even to dress, food, and habitations. One style of apparel suited the pagan votaress; another was required as more suitable to the christian worshipper.

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 581.

CHAPTER VII.

Tonga, Fijee, and Navigators' Islands.

Tonga or Friendly Islands discovered by Tasman—Visited by Cook—Amiable Qualities of the Natives—Improved State of their Country—Conspiracy against Cook—La Perouse, Edwards, and D'Entrecasteaux—The Ship Duff arrives there in 1797—Missionaries landed—Intrigues of Connelly, Ambler, and Morgan—Generous Conduct of Moomooe—The Chiefs Finou and Mytyle—The Duff leaves the Islands—Death and Funeral of Moomooe—Toogahowe protects the Preachers—Ambler and Morgan—Details relative to Inhabitants—Warlike Habits derived from the Fijees—Civil War, Toogahowe murdered—Character of Toobo Nuha, and of Finou his Brother—Speech of Young Finou—Attack made upon Missionaries—Error as to the Number killed—Friendly Islands visited by Williams—Declaration of Finou—Wesleyan Missionaries had already begun their Labours—Arrangement with those of the London Society—Fijees a distinct Race from the Friendly Islanders—Christianity introduced—Cannibalism—A native Feast—Navigators' Islands discovered by Bougainville—Visited by La Perouse, and by Kotzebue—Incidents mentioned by the latter—These Islands extremely important—Exertions of the Chief Fauea—Progress of the Missionaries—Conduct of Malietoa—Motives of Conversion—Number of professed Christians—Beneficial Effects of the Gospel.

It must be considered entirely as a matter of convenience on what principle the numerous islands in this part of the South Sea shall be distributed; for, except the date of discovery, there is no particular in which one cluster can be said to differ from another. The Tonga, the Fijee, and the Navigators', for example, are so closely

CHAP. VII. — Classification of the groups.

CHAP. VII. associated in regard to position and physical character, that it seems impossible to assign any other reason why they should not all be considered as one group, than that they have been variously named by successive visiters.

Discovery of the Friendly Islands. Following the usual arrangement of geographers, we shall begin with the Friendly Islands, the principal members of which, it is well known, were discovered by Tasman, a Dutch seaman, in the year 1643, and afterwards more minutely examined by Captain Cook. In the eyes of both these distinguished voyagers the inhabitants of Tongataboo appeared extremely amiable and generous, whence originated the complimentary epithet applied by the Englishman to their country. The former, seeing no arms among them, was thereby induced to believe that the reign of peace must have been for ever undisturbed in those happy regions; an impression which a more minute acquaintance with their habits and the course of subsequent events have altogether removed. On grounds equally fallacious, Tasman concluded that, being ignorant of all religion, they were strangers to the practice of worship in any one of its forms. He saw no temples, no idols, no priests; but observed that they had a devout veneration for the serpent-brood. One of them took up a water-snake, and with great reverence put it upon his head, and afterwards replaced it in the sea. They seem, indeed, to have carried their respect for life so far as not to kill even a fly, though these insects were exceedingly numerous, proving an actual plague to the island. It

The state of agriculture. is stated that the natives had made considerable progress in agriculture; that the ground was divided into portions of a regular shape, where fields and gardens were neatly laid out; and that the latter were filled with plants and trees, which, besides being pleasing to the eye, diffused a delightful odour.*

* Tasman's Voyage is described in Dalrymple's Historical Collection of Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, vol. ii. p. 63. His relation is derived from the work of Vallentyn, who is supposed to have had access to Tasman's original Journal.

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Cook's visit to Tongataboo.

* After the long interval of one hundred and thirty years, Tongataboo was visited by Cook, who, as he could profit little by the labours of his predecessor, may be said to have discovered it. During this period the inhabitants had divested themselves of the peculiarities ascribed to them by the Dutchman, for they were found in possession at once of arms and of idols. Our countryman relates, that almost immediately after he landed, he was conducted along a lane which led to an open green, on one side of which was a house of worship, built on a mount that had been raised by the hand of man, about sixteen or eighteen feet above the common level. It had an oblong figure, and was enclosed by a wall or parapet of stone about three feet in height, from which wall the mount rose with a gentle slope, and was covered with a green turf. On the top of it stood the house, which had the same figure as the tumulus, and was about twenty feet in length, and fourteen or sixteen broad. The floor was laid with fine gravel; except in the middle, where there was a parallelogram of blue pebbles raised about six inches above the surface. In a corner stood an image rudely carved in wood, and on one side lay another; each about two feet long. The ceremonies which were performed by persons clothed with the attributes of priests, ought to have left no doubt on the mind of the navigator that the figures which he saw were meant to represent the powers of invisible beings; but observing that they were handled with little respect by those who frequented the house which their presence was meant to sanctify, he remained undecided as to the real purpose of these carved logs.

Ceremonies in a temple

Leaving this consecrated place, Cook was conducted into the country on a road sixteen feet in width, and as level as a bowling-green, enclosed with neat fences made of reeds, and shaded from the scorching sun by fruit-trees. He felt as if transported into the most fertile

* The island called by the natives Tongataboo, or Sacred Tonga, was by Tasman denominated Amsterdam. See also Burney's Historical Discoveries, vol. iii. p. 84.

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Luxuriance of Tongataboo.

plains of Europe. There was not an inch of waste ground; the paths occupied no more space than was absolutely necessary; the fences did not take up above four inches each; and even this was not wholly lost, for in many were planted some useful trees or plants. It was every where the same; change of place altered not the scene. Nature, assisted by a little art, nowhere appears in more splendour than at this isle. Here were found the richest productions of the Southern Pacific, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, plantains, bananas, shaddocks, yams, sugar-cane, and a fruit like a nectarine. Tongataboo, in short, enjoys most of the commodities which can be procured at the Society Islands, and many which these have not.*

In the year 1777, Cook again visited the Friendly Islands, and conferred upon the inhabitants several benefactions which their intentions towards him did not in any degree merit. In fact, they had deliberately planned a conspiracy against him, which would infallibly have been put in execution, if the chiefs had not quarrelled about the exact mode of making the assault. It was proposed to invite the adventurer and his officers to a dance by torch-light, and, upon a given signal, to massacre him, together with all his company and soldiers.

Conspiracy against Cook.

But the principal leader objected to this plan, as the darkness of the night would be unfavourable to their operations in taking the two vessels, and proposed rather that it should be done by day, on the occasion of a grand entertainment which was shortly to be given to the navigator in honour of his arrival. It was farther arranged, that those of his men who would naturally come in search of him, being conducted to the farther part of the island, under pretence that he was there, should be destroyed in like manner. The two ships, thus weakened by the diminution of their crews, might, they thought, be easily taken, and a large accession thereby made to the power of the ruling faction. The banquet was accordingly pre-

* Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. i. p. 201-213.

pared, and Captain Cook, with several of his subalterns, was present. But a difference of opinion again arising as to the most suitable moment for perpetrating the murder, the king gave orders that it should not be attempted. The amusements went on without interruption, and the visitors, who were much pleased with the liberality of their hosts, acknowledge that the festivities exceeded any they had hitherto received at the Friendly Islands.*

Visits of other navigators.

Between the period now under consideration and the arrival of the Duff, the Tonga group appears to have been visited by La Perouse, who merely touched on the coast; by Captain Edwards of the Pandora, when in search of the mutineers; and by D'Entrecasteaux, who anchored at the principal island in the spring of 1793. Tongataboo was considered by the Directors of the Missionary Society as a desirable station for their benevolent labours, chiefly on account of its connexion with the numerous clusters in the neighbourhood, most of which acknowledge it as the seat of government, and as invested with a certain species of supreme power. It was observed, besides, as a ground of preference, that the islets of which the sovereignty is composed stretch in the direction of north and south; a circumstance which, when viewed with reference to the trade-winds, was at once perceived to afford at all seasons a practicable communication from one to another. These reasons, combined with others of not less weight, gave birth to a resolution on the part of the leading missionaries to establish some of their brethren among a people whose mild dispositions were already celebrated throughout Europe, and whose mental endowments were pronounced to be of a higher order than those of any other Polynesians.

Arrival of the Duff.

In April 1797, accordingly, the Duff, which had sailed from Otaheite, arrived on the coast of Tongataboo, where her decks were soon covered with crowds of natives, eager to dispose of their commodities. The articles offered

* Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 309-336.

CHAP. VII. for barter consisted as usual of hogs, bread-fruit, cocoa-nuts, yams, spears, and clubs, besides other pieces of ingenious manufacture. But their demands were so high that little was purchased; while, to the confusion of both parties, it was discovered that the people of the Society Islands, some of whom were on board, could not understand the language of their western neighbours. It had been supposed by certain authors, that there was only one dialect among the inhabitants of the Southern Pacific; later investigations, however, have proved that the aborigines of the Fijee Archipelago, with whom the Friendly tribes have constant intercourse, use a form of speech quite different from that which prevails among the families of the windward groups. A chief presented himself to the captain of the English ship, asserting that he possessed great power in the country, and added, that some white men had taken refuge in his dominions. Two of these individuals, who also soon made their appearance, proved to be Benjamin Ambler and John Connelly, the one a native of London, and the other of Cork, and both runaway convicts from New South Wales.*

Difference of dialects.

From the former of these persons Wilson learned, that the chief who had visited him presided over all the eastern part of the island, but that another, named Tibo Moomooc, who was generally considered the king, intended to come on board in a day or two. Hearing that this ruler was celebrated for humanity to his subjects and hospitality to strangers, the captain apprized Ambler of the object of his voyage to those remote shores, and requested his opinion as to the expediency of establishing a mission. To this the other replied, that the natives would certainly receive them gladly, and even treat them with kindness; but with respect to the security of

Statement of the convict Ambler.

* "They were convicts who escaped from Port Jackson in the same vessel with Mr Muir the Jacobin. They were recognised by several of Captain Garden's crew, whom he brought from Port Jackson in the Mercury, and appear to have arrived at Tonga in March 1796."—Greathead's MS. Notes. Campbell's Maritime Discovery, p. 315.

any kind of moveable goods. he could give him no assurance. Connelly, who seemed to speak with greater openness, did not conceal that their lives also would be in danger, if it were found that they possessed iron tools, and, on any occasion, attempted to defend themselves against private robbers, a class of men, it was admitted, nearly commensurate in number with all the male inhabitants of the island. As to a house, they had no doubt that Tibo would give them a suitable one, and would, moreover, so far as his influence extended, protect their bodies from violence, and their property from depredation; hinting, at the same time, that their chance of a comfortable maintenance would be the greater, if they separated, and placed themselves in different parts of the country, under the eye of subordinate chiefs.

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Statement of the convict Connelly.

The assurances now given were afterwards confirmed by Moomooe himself, who, when on board the Duff, was informed that the men who had been brought from England to live with him, would teach his people all the useful arts, and other things of much more importance to their welfare. The generous savage replied, that he not only acquiesced in the proposal for their residence in his dominions, but would also make a proper provision for their comfort. He assured them, that for the present they should have a dwelling near his own, until one more suitable, with a portion of land attached to it, could be provided; that he would take care neither their persons nor property should receive the slightest molestation; and that if they did not like the situation of their residence, he would give orders to have another prepared in a more convenient locality. Upon going ashore, the brethren found within an enclosure of a few acres five houses, the largest of which was intended for themselves. It was thirty-six feet long, twenty broad, with a roof fifteen feet high in the middle, resting upon wooden pillars. The floor was raised about a foot, and covered with thick clean matting.

Generosity of the chief Moomooe.

The missionaries, finding that the majority of the chiefs, with the larger portion of the people, resided at

CHAP. VII. the western end of the island, expressed a desire to place themselves under the protection of Finou Toogahowe, brother of the ruler who made so favourable an impression on Captain Cook; and with this view they despatched Ambler to make a proposal for their settling on his lands.

Negotiations for a mission. Meanwhile the pompous personage who had favoured the ship with the first visit, entreated that five of the teachers should be stationed on his territory; a request with which, as they were unwilling to separate from each other, they respectfully declined to comply. In the course of the same day, the English envoy arrived on board with Finou, who had already agreed to take all the brethren under his care, and to bestow upon them a house surrounded by a large portion of land. He was the most powerful chief as well as the greatest warrior in Tongataboo, and it was expected that on the death of Moomooe he would be formally chosen king of the whole country. Lest any mistake should have arisen from misconception or fraud on the part of Ambler, the captain requested that Toogahowe would repeat, in the presence of the missionaries, his promise to defend them from all danger, and likewise to supply a suitable maintenance. Mr Wilson therefore recited anew every particular of the conditions to which it was understood he had given his assent. The morose barbarian, who seemed to understand the greater part of what was said, looked as if he felt that his veracity was called in question, and answered somewhat haughtily, that if they chose to land, they might live in his district in what manner they pleased; that no one should be allowed to hurt them; and that he would without delay send a double canoe, which should take them and their effects ashore.

Reported Conspiracy. This negotiation was hardly completed, when Ambler told the captain that an intention was formed to massacre him and all his crew. The conspiracy, it was alleged, comprehended all the men in eight double canoes of the largest size, as well as hundreds more, whose means of attack were less formidable. In such circumstances, though little reliance could be placed on the good faith of the

informer, measures of precaution were immediately adopted. All the natives were turned out of the ship except Toogahowe and his personal attendants; the small arms were laid in readiness for use; the great guns were loaded with grape, and every man was placed at his quarters. The truth of the representation was never ascertained, though appearances fully justified all the steps which were taken. In the canoes which surrounded the ship there were not fewer than three thousand warriors, all armed with clubs or spears; a force against which, had an attack been suddenly commenced, the utmost resistance which could have been made by a small body of undisciplined sailors must have been found altogether unavailing.

Landing of missionaries.

On the 12th April, the brethren landed, not without some apprehension of danger to life and property. No sooner had they reached the shore than their luggage was surrounded by a hundred of the natives, whose suspicious motions might be traced either to curiosity or a desire to steal, both equally characteristic of the savage state. Mytyle, a chief whose authority could not be resisted in that quarter, ordered the chests to be removed into a house; menacing the covetous crowd with the severest punishment should any one of them, during the ensuing night, disturb the repose of the strangers. On the afternoon of the 14th, the last boatful of goods was landed, at which juncture the missionaries reported that all was well, and that the people appeared kindly disposed towards them. The captain then took an affectionate leave of his friends, promising, if possible, to remain on the coast till the following morning; but a heavy gale at an early hour compelled him to leave the vicinity of the reefs and stand out into the depth of the ocean. The christian ministers watched her labouring amid the waves, till she disappeared from their view in the distant horizon. A feeling of sadness then arose, and some tears of regret fell from their eyes, whilst they looked around upon the island on which they had been left, far distant from the regions of civilized life, as the

Departure of the Duff.

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Feelings of the missionaries.

scene where they were to pass their days, and probably encounter a premature death. This, they said to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will moulder to dust; this we must now look upon as our country and our grave. But there were ten of us in company, all social and friendly, all attached to each other, all of similar sentiment, all at this time united in love and zeal for our Divine Master, and all glowing with an earnest desire to convey the blessing of his inestimable and glorious gospel to the friendly but heathen inhabitants around us."*

The missionaries were not long resident in the island before they had an opportunity of witnessing, in their most appalling form, the horrors of the native superstition. Moomooe, the sovereign chief, being on his death-bed, a young man, son of the king himself, was strangled in the presence of his parent, not so much with the view of appeasing the angry spirit who is supposed to cut the thread of life, as to transfer to the patient a portion of the vigour which belonged to the victim whose days were thus brought to a close. But this sacrifice proved unavailing, for the disease under which the old monarch laboured was destined to complete its work. Immense

Funeral of Moomooe.

preparations for the funeral immediately followed; the people flocking from all quarters with hogs, fruit, cloth, spears, and clubs. The christian teachers, in whose vicinity this pageant was set forth, relate that the exhibition began with loud shouting and the blowing of conch shells, when speedily about a hundred men appeared armed with clubs and spears. These infatuated wretches cut and mangled themselves in the most barbarous manner; many struck their heads with their weapons so violently that the blows were heard at a great distance;

* Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean in the ship Duff, p. 102-112. Campbell's Maritime Discovery and Christian Missions, p. 302. The latter author trusts chiefly for his materials to the narrative contained in the Missionary Voyage, aided by a reference to journals kept by the teachers themselves, published in their several Magazines and Registers.

and this operation was repeated till the blood ran down in torrents. Others thrust their lances with savage ferocity through their thighs, arms, and cheeks, calling out all the while in the most piteous accents the name of the deceased king. A native of the Fijee Islands, who had been one of the royal servants, appeared quite frantic. He stepped forward with fire on his head, and having previously oiled his hair, he applied a torch to it, and ran about with the upper part of his body enveloped in flames. When wearied with these various torments, they sat down, and beat their faces with their fists. A second party at length relieved them in the arena where this frightful scene was exhibited, advancing with furious shouts and the sounding of shells. Four who occupied the front rank held stones in their hands, with which they knocked out their teeth, while the others lacerated their heads in a manner frightful to behold. One who had a spear thrust it through his arm a little above the elbow, and with the weapon thus suspended in his flesh, he ran wildly about as if courting applause. A principal chief acted as if quite bereft of his senses; rushing to every corner of the fiatooka, at each station he smote his head with a club till the blood flowed in streams down his shoulders. On that dreadful day, in short, respect for the deceased ruler was measured by torture and death; the appalling spectacle being concluded by the murder of his two wives. Of these females, devoted to strangulation at the grave of their late husband, it is remarked, that the one wept as she walked along, while the other seemed a personification of cold indifference.

Funereal atrocities.

Strangulation of wives.

These deeds of heathen darkness and cruelty were renewed on the following day; the space around the tomb being converted into a theatre for savage gladiators. Before the period of mourning was ended, thousands engaged in personal conflict, which frequently terminated in death to one or both of the parties. During several weeks, the horrid blast of the conch shell, night after night, summoned the infuriated combatants to a renewal

CHAP. VII. of their murderous contests; and the missionaries relate, that the piercing shrieks, the clashing of arms, and the rushing of the excited multitude, rendered their place of residence a scene of continual terror and disgust.*

Friendliness of Toogahowe. Toogahowe, who was elected to the rank of chief governor, continued his protection to the missionaries, which became still more necessary to them, as they were soon afterwards assailed by the violence and threatenings of the unprincipled Europeans who had preceded them in their arrival at Tongataboo. On one occasion, these ruffians used in their hearing the most fearful imprecations; vowing that they would stir up the natives against them, and procure the murder of every individual. Intimidated by these menaces, which would probably have been realized, and finding that, from their continuing to live together, apart from the great body of the people, they had made very small progress in acquiring a knowledge of their language, they came to the resolution of separating, and of taking up their abode at the residence of different chiefs. The plan received, though not without some reluctance, the approval of the king; and the teachers, accordingly, retiring from this station, on the improvement of which they had bestowed considerable labour, went to the dwellings of their respective friends.

Return of the Duff. On the 19th August, the Duff, which had made a voyage to the Marquesas, returned to the Friendly Islands, bringing from Otaheite some seasonable supplies to the christian brethren at Tongataboo. To deliver them from the machinations of Ambler and his associates, the captain resolved to take these fugitive convicts on board his ship; an arrangement to which they, in the first instance, readily acceded. But when the hour of

* Missionary Voyage, p. 239-444. From the Journal of the brethren, it appears that intoxication was employed to add to the natural ferocity of the savage character. A gross festivity accompanied all their demonstrations of sorrow; observances in which the Polynesians closely resembled the more celebrated barbarians of ancient Greece and Rome, and perhaps of our own people at no distant period.

departure arrived, they were not to be found, having made their escape into the interior. Connelly was seized and put into the hands of Captain Wilson; the two others, one of whom was the convict Morgan, who had joined the agitators, were after a brief space put to death for crimes against the public peace. The missionaries now resumed their duties without fear or interruption. Brothers Buchanan and Gaulton were stationed at Mooa, the residence of Futtafaihe, which is described by one of the seamen in these terms:—"Proceeding from the lagoon about a quarter of a mile through fenced lanes, a spacious square green, about half a furlong wide, presents itself, at the further end of which the dwelling stands. On the same green, which is as smooth as if rolled, a few large spreading trees grow in an irregular disposition, which add much to the beauty of the scene. On the east side is a neat fence enclosing the long grove where the fiatookas stand; on the west are the dwellings of different chiefs in their enclosures; and along the north or lower side of the square the great road runs from the one end of the island to the other. This road is in general about six or seven yards wide, but eastward from the green, and for half a mile, it is not less than sixty yards wide. In this part there is a range of trees as large and spreading as the largest English oaks; and as their branches meet at the top and quite exclude the sun's rays, a pleasant walk is afforded by their shade."*

Description of Mooa.

Character of the Tongatabooans.

The impression made upon the minds of the missionaries in regard to the character of the inhabitants, was at first extremely favourable; answering to the most flattering representation that the world has ever received of it, and justifying the epithet applied to their islands by the immortal Cook, who, as we have mentioned, considered them greatly superior to all other Polynesians. They possess, we are assured, many excellent qualities, which, were they enlightened with the knowledge of the gospel, would render them the most amiable

* Missionary Voyage, p. 285.

CHAP. VII. people on earth. Their bounty to strangers is great, and their liberality to one another is unequalled. Their honesty in domestic transactions is unimpeachable, though, towards foreigners, it is admitted, the same virtue loses part of its energy and exactness. The murder

Moral usages. of children and other horrid practices which prevail at Otaheite are unknown at Tongataboo. Polygamy is common among the chiefs, who, in the number of their wives, know no limits but their own fancy and the means of maintaining their establishments. In all ranks of society the conduct of the women would be pronounced decorous, even if measured by a European standard; the exceptions being so rare as not to attract the notice of a stranger, or give offence to the most refined sentiments of morality. The deepest stain on the character of the people is their love of war, which is too frequently gratified by engaging in civil broils when their arms are not occupied against a more distant enemy.

It has been already stated, that at the time when Captain Cook visited the Tonga group belligerent habits were little known to the natives. The only quarrels in which they had ever embarked were with the inhabitants of the Fijee Islands; for, being in the practice of visiting them for sandal-wood, they occasionally took a side with one or other of the contending parties into which those restless savages were almost constantly divided. From them they speedily learned to make bows and arrows of a much more destructive kind than any with which they had been previously acquainted, and also to wield the spear, which was not unfrequently used as a missile weapon with the most deadly effect. A certain chief, named Tooi Halai Fatai, having in the course of successive voyages contracted the warlike propensity of his

Tooi Halai Fatai. neighbours, became tired of the peaceful life he led at home, and therefore determined to repair thither in company with a number of young men of the same adventurous disposition. At the head of two hundred and fifty of such unquiet spirits he performed among the Fijees various exploits which tended not less to exalt

his name as a gallant leader than to increase his wealth as a successful freebooter. CHAP VII.

Civil war. Events soon afterwards occurred in his own country which gave full scope to his enterprising genius both in the field and in the council. Toogahowe, who had some time previously mounted the throne, held the reins of government in a manner little satisfactory to the people at large; and some acts of tyranny, which extended to the higher class of his subjects, led in the first instance to a general insurrection, and finally to a complete revolution in all parts of his dominions. The leader of the rebellion was Toobo Nuha, brother of Finou, the ruler of the Hapai Islands, and himself the tributary sovereign of Vavaoo. The murder of the king by the hand of the insurgent was the signal for war, which was carried on during a considerable period with great ferocity and various success. Toobo, a brave soldier, was a mere tool in the hand of his more thoughtful relative, whose ambition, though of the most aspiring nature, always proved subservient to a profound diplomacy which determined all his actions.

The character of this remarkable man is well described by one of Cook's officers, in whose time he had already risen above the surface of ordinary life, and displayed tokens of the high views as well as great talents by which he was afterwards distinguished. Toobo Nuha. He appeared then to be about twenty-five years of age, a tall, handsome man. He had much fire and vivacity, with a degree of wildness in his countenance that well tallied with the idea of an Indian warrior, and he was, besides, one of the most active men ever seen in those regions. The western part of Tongataboo, with Anamooka, and all the islands to the northward, were under his jurisdiction. But what gave him more consequence was his spirit, activity, and his post as general. Whenever the nation went to war, they were headed by him. His followers were numerous, and more attached to him than those of any other chief; in short, he was the most popular man in the Tonga group. Nevertheless, with all his good qualities, he was tainted with

CHAP. VII. a degree of rapaciousness which made him guilty of actions bordering on meanness and dishonesty, perpetrated, however, it has been alleged in his defence, solely with the view of acquiring the means of gaining adherents and rewarding his friends.*

Death of Finou.

In the pursuit of undivided sovereignty he consented to the assassination of his brother, to whose bravery and attachment he was indebted for the larger portion of his power. This charge, though it could not be fully established, is the darkest which clouds his memory in his own land, as well as in foreign countries; and the sufferings which imbittered the closing period of his life were, there is reason to believe, regarded by himself as a manifestation of the Divine anger. He was succeeded by a son, who bore the same name, which, indeed, was official rather than personal, and who, at his accession, made a speech to the assembled patricians, the friends and the foes of his house, which would have done honour to a more enlightened country.

Speech of his successor.

"Listen to me, chiefs and warriors! If any among you are discontented with the present state of affairs, now is the time to go to Hapai; for no man shall remain at Vavaoo with a mind discontented and wandering to other places. I have seen with sorrow the wide destruction occasioned by the unceasing war carried on by the chief now lying in the malai. We have, indeed, been doing a great deal, but what is the result? The land is depopulated; it is overgrown with weeds, and there is nobody to cultivate it. Had we re-

* Quarterly Review, vol. xviii. p. 8. The editor states that he is in possession of the Journal from which this description is taken. In reference to Mariner's account of the Tonga Islands, the same gentleman remarks, "little did Finou imagine when, in directing the massacre of the ship's crew, he gave orders to spare a boy whose appearance and youth had excited his compassion, that by that boy's means his life and actions would be made known throughout the civilized world, and perhaps to the latest posterity; for Finou is not one of those men whose history is forgotten as soon as read;—his character is strongly marked and prominent;—and is one of those which in future ages will stand alone for remembrance." The boy here alluded to was Mariner himself.

mained peaceful, it would have been populous still. The principal chiefs and warriors are fallen, and we must be contented with the society of the lower class. What madness! Is not life already too short? Is it not a noble characteristic in a man to remain happy and peaceful in his station? What folly then to seek for war, to shorten that which is already too short! Have we not been acting then like those who have no understanding? Have we not been madly seizing the very thing which deprives us of what we really want? Not that we ought to banish all thoughts of fighting. If any power approach us with the front of battle, and attempt to invade our rights, our bravery shall be more excited in proportion as we have more possessions to defend. Let us then confine ourselves to agriculture, for that is truly guarding our country. Why should we be anxious for an increase of territory? Our land is quite large enough to supply us with food; we shall not ever be able to consume all its produce. But perhaps I am not speaking to you wisely. The old matabooles (councillors) are present; I beg them to tell me if I am wrong. I am yet but a youth, and on that account should be unfit to govern, if my mind, like that of the deceased chief, sought not the advice of others. For your loyalty and fidelity towards him, however, I return you my sincere thanks. Finou Fijee, who is present, and the matabooles know well my frequent inquiries concerning the good of our government. Do not then say 'why do we listen to the idle talk of a boy?' Recollect whilst I speak to you, my voice is the echo of the sentiments of Toe Oomoo, and Ooloovaloo, and Afoo, and Fotoo, and Alo, and all the high chiefs of Vavaoo. Listen to me! I remind you, that if there be any among you discontented with this state of affairs, the present is the only opportunity I will give you to depart. Choose, therefore, your dwelling-places. There is Fijee, there is Hamoa, there is Tonga, there is Hapai, there is Fotoona, and Latooma! The men who have unanimous sentiments, and who love to dwell in constant peace—they

Declares against war.

Adheres to old feeling.

CHAP. VII. alone shall remain at Vavaoo and its neighbouring isles. Yet will I not suppress the bravery of our warlike spirit. Behold! the islands of Tonga and Fijee are constantly at war. Let him there display his courage. Arise, go to your respective habitations; and recollect that to-morrow the canoes depart for Hapai."*

Slow progress of the mission. From these details of military and political affairs, we willingly allow ourselves to be recalled to the more important subject of religion, which for a time made slow progress among the people of Tonga. The missionaries, it has already been seen, were opposed by three Europeans, who dreaded their influence among the natives, or envied the possession of their small property. Allusion has been made to the fate of these unprincipled men, all of whom were known to be criminals who had escaped from the penal settlement in Australia; but we are indebted for several particulars to Mariner, who received his information from the mouth of the king himself, to whom the young sailor had previously owed his life. He related, that some years before the capture of the Port au Prince, which took place in 1806, on the arrival of an English vessel, one of the white men, whose name was Morgan, chose to live among them. For a considerable period he continued on good terms with the natives, and was also much respected by the chiefs.

The convict Morgan.

* An Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean, &c., compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr William Mariner, several years resident in those Islands. By John Martin, M. B. (2 vols 12mo, third edition, Lond. 1827), vol. i. p. 323. By "the 'chief now lying in the *malai* or marai,' the orator meant his own father, whose passion for war he repeatedly deplores. At a repast to which he invited the chiefs after the assembly broke up, he again adverted to the advantages of agriculture,—the happiness of cultivating land for one's own food, and of eating the produce of one's own labour. 'You do not know,' says he, 'how much pleasure such men feel when they view the work of their own hands thriving daily; and whilst eating, when they reflect that their labour has been repaid by the increase of their stores. Therefore let us apply ourselves to agriculture. Follow my example; I will order a piece of ground to be cleared, and during the next rain, I will assist in planting it with *hiabo*.'"

At length there came another European ship (the Duff with the missionaries), and from her also there landed several white men, who voluntarily took up their residence in the island. These last, he added, built a house, in which they often shut themselves up, to sing and perform ceremonies, as he expressed it. After a space, a quarrel ensued between Morgan and them, first about an iron pot which he wanted to borrow, and then about some pigs which they said he had stolen from them. Upon this, they gave information that he had been a bad man in his own country, and was under sentence of banishment for his crimes. The convict, in his turn, told the chiefs who the preachers were, saying that they were men sent out by the King of England to bring a pestilence on the people of Tonga, and that they accordingly concealed themselves in their house to perform witchcraft, and make incantations, which was the cause of the dreadful disease then raging, and that their books contained nothing but rules of sorcery. The leaders began to take this statement into serious consideration. There could be no doubt that there was a great mortality among them; the white men often assembled and sang very loud; on which occasions they would not allow any of the Tonga people to be present. The chiefs said to one another, if these strangers are doing no harm, why do they not permit us to witness their proceedings? We do not conceal our ceremonies from them, why do they not expose theirs to us? Morgan, availing himself of the suspicions which he had excited, remarked that they might with their own eyes see the effect of the incantations of which he told them; "several of you are dying every day; by and by you will be all cut off, and the King of England will take possession of your islands, for although you have the remedy in your power, you will not make use of it." This argument prevailed; they rushed upon the white men, and killed all but three who were under the protection of Veachi, a person of great influence.*

He quarrels with the missionaries.

He excites the chiefs against them.

* Mariner's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. 73.

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Such was the cause of the hard fate which befell the missionaries, as related by Finou to Mariner, who afterwards heard the same facts repeated by other chiefs. He inquired what ultimately became of the three who resided with Veachi, and was informed that they were killed during a civil war. It was mentioned that they might have made their escape in company with some natives who invited them into a canoe about to proceed to another island, but they chose to remain, assigning as a reason that as they had not quarrelled with any of the people, they incurred no danger of being attacked. The others reminded them, however, that it was the Tonga custom not only to kill an enemy, but also, if possible, all his friends and relations; to which the three missionaries replied, that as they had done no harm, and meant no harm, their God would protect them. At this moment, concludes the narrator, a party of natives, who were lying in wait in a neighbouring thicket, rushed out and killed them with their spears.

Three missionaries killed at Veachi.

This narrative, though probably correct as to the motives whence the hostile feeling against the missionaries arose, is inaccurate with respect to the number of the brethren who suffered death. The ten stationed by Captain Wilson at Tongataboo, in 1797, remained at their posts two years, without any molestation, and, indeed, were not disturbed till the breaking out of the civil war already described, when three of their number were barbarously murdered. The others, after being plundered of their property, saved their lives by flight to a different part of the island, whence they were at length removed to New South Wales, by the captain of a merchantman, who touched at Tonga on his voyage from Otaheite to Port Jackson.

Fate of the other missionaries.

In the year 1830, the Friendly Islands were visited by Mr Williams, who had the good fortune to meet at Lefooga the younger Finou, whose speech we have quoted. Being informed by the zealous teacher that he and his companions were missionaries who had laboured many years in the Otaheitan and Society Isles, the in-

habitants of which had derived great advantage from their instructions, he was asked whether he would receive an individual, properly recommended, who, it was hoped, would prove a blessing to him and his people. The king listened with great attention, and replied by saying, that the persons who were formerly sent endeavoured to instruct him and his people, but they would not be taught; when the preachers, finding all their efforts ineffectual, ceased to make them, and at length became as bad as themselves. As to receiving the new teacher, he said he would speak his sentiments freely and not deceive any one. If he were placed at Vavaoo, he would protect him, but he would neither embrace Christianity himself, nor allow his people to become converts; on the contrary, he declared he would put to death the first person, man or woman, who should desert the ancient belief. The missionaries did not deem it proper to argue the point of expediency with this imperious chieftain, but contented themselves with expressing their regret that he should so resolutely oppose the reception of so great a blessing.

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Williams' Visit to the Friendly Islands.

They found, indeed, upon inquiry, that the conduct of Finou had in most cases accorded too exactly with his fearful menaces. Many of the inhabitants of Vavaoo, including some of the chiefs, had left that island and proceeded to Lefooga, in order to enjoy the advantages of evangelical instruction. In the latter place, they were found in a state of comparative poverty and degradation; a change of circumstances to which they willingly submitted rather than renounce the benefits of Christianity. Notwithstanding these discouragements, it was gratifying to learn, that nearly a hundred persons had become candidates for the ordinance of baptism, and were under a course of instruction preparatory to its administration. Many others had made known their intention of relinquishing idolatry, and of taking their place among the professors of the gospel, though, under the government of a ruler so decidedly opposed to any change of faith,

Christianity in Lefooga.

CHAP. VII they found it necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection.

After the murder and expulsion of the missionaries who had been landed by the Duff at Tongataboo, the pastoral care of the few converts on that island seems to have been exercised by a native teacher. At a later period, some of the Wesleyan brethren debarked on the coast, whom the people invited to labour among them, not being aware of any distinction of sects or denominations; hence when the author of the Enterprises arrived at the Friendly group, he found that the members of the London Society had been superseded by evangelists of another class, whose forms, and perhaps their principles, were somewhat different. It is said, that when they entered upon their duties, they saw not only a comfortable station prepared for them, but also a commodious chapel, with three or four hundred persons desirous to receive their instructions; a state of things resulting almost entirely from the exertions of a converted pagan, who zealously communicated to his idolatrous neighbours the precious knowledge which he had received from the unfortunate brethren who had been betrayed by Morgan. As the Wesleyans were in possession of the Tonga Archipelago, it was arranged that they should continue to occupy it as their appropriate field: and as the Fijees, whose language and political institutions are similar, were at no great distance, it was farther agreed that their ministerial cares should be extended to both these provinces.

Arrival of Wesleyans at Tongataboo.

Separation of missionary spheres.

Good reasons are assigned for this distribution of islands, as well as for the separation of missionaries, who, though their object was one, proceeded by different paths towards the attainment of it. The natives, who would at once have perceived a difference in the modes of worship, must have had their attention divided, and their notions obscured. Being naturally of an inquisitive disposition, they would, without doubt, have demanded a reason for every little deviation from the usual method; and the

explanations first from one side and then from the other, would almost necessarily have led to evils greatly to be deplored in an infant society of believers. There would, moreover, have been another inconvenience in the case now under consideration, had both sects resolved to pursue their labours in common, for the Wesleyans, in their elementary books for the education of their converts, had adopted a different alphabet and orthography.*

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Soil and produce at Tongataboo.

The missionaries have had an opportunity of confirming the opinion held by others, that the soil of Tongataboo is very rich, and that large tracts of land were formerly under cultivation. Groves of the banana and mountain plantain every where meet the eye. The fruit of these trees forms an important part of the food of all the Friendly Islanders; and the Tongatabooans surpass most of their neighbours in the cultivation of it. But the repeated civil wars to which allusion has been made, by diminishing the number of the inhabitants, were followed by the abandonment of several fine districts, now with-

* Mr Williams states, that the Wesleyans pursued the plan of giving christian names to all whom they baptized. "The queen they call *Mary* Tupou, and the king *Jeremiah* Tupou. The American missionaries at the Sandwich Islands and the Church missionaries of New Zealand have done the same. This appears to us the introduction of a new feature into the Polynesian language, which its genius does not admit, and to which there is nothing analogous. It may be said, that many of the natives have two names, as *Tupou-totai* of Tongataboo, *Makeanui* of Rarotonga, and a variety of others. But these are mere appendages to the name descriptive of the office or occupation of the individual: *totai* added to Tupou's name is literally the sailor; *nui* to Makea is literally the great, answering to the appellations Necho and Epiphanes, which were appended to the names of Pharaoh, Antiochus, and others. Now we should not think of prefixing a christian name to that of Pharaoh, and calling him *Jeremiah* Pharaoh, or to that of Cleopatra, and calling her *Elizabeth* Cleopatra, as the missionaries to whom I have referred have done. There is also a native dignity in the name itself, which is lost when thus associated; and as the idiom of this language will not admit such an incongruous combination of terms, I do sincerely hope that all the missionaries will use every effort to transmit it to posterity pure, simple, and beautiful as they found it."—*Narrative of Missionary Enterprises*, p. 307.

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out either occupants or culture. Should the gospel be finally established, peace will soon extend its benign influence from shore to shore; the population will rapidly increase; and the fertile fields, now lying waste, will once more display abundant crops to the eyes of an innocent peasantry.

The small Friendly Islands.

It is quite unnecessary to fatigue the attention of the reader by a minute description of Eooa, Anamooka, or any other inferior member of the group. They are known to have been discovered by Tasman, and visited by our great navigator, whose description of them contains all that is deserving of notice as to their climate and productions. Of the former isle, he remarks, that it resembles Tongataboo, but exceeds it in respect of salubrity, pleasantness of situation, and goodness of fresh water.*

The Feejee Islands.

Greater attention might be claimed for the Fijees, were we equally well acquainted with the manners and political constitution of the inhabitants, who are obviously of a race quite distinct from the natives of the Friendly and Society Islands. They belong to the black tribes who occupy Borneo, New Guinea, the Solomons, New Hebrides, and other groups which stretch between the hundred and tenth degree of east longitude and the prime meridian. In knowledge of some of the arts, and perhaps in general civilisation, they had, when first discovered, outstripped the natives of Tonga, who are represented by voyagers as being at once less ingenious and less warlike. With strong indications of negro ferocity, they combine some of the worst habits which disgrace the whole population of the Southern Pacific, especially the horrible practice of eating their enemies, now abhorred by all the fairer-skinned families of the

* There is a small island called Tofoaa, chiefly remarkable for a volcano, situated near its northern extremity, from which smoke almost constantly issues, and pumice-stones are very frequently thrown. It was visited by Mariner, who found that the crater was about thirty feet in diameter, whence sundry explosions were heard like the noise of water thrown upon burning pitch.—Vol. i. p. 207.

windward clusters. They are remarkable, too, for suspicion and vigilance; hence, in the Friendly Islands, the expression is proverbial, to be "*toto boto,* like the Fijee people," that is, to be possessed of policy and caution in the presence of an enemy. Of their origin, or the period at which they removed to their present habitation, nothing is known; but the old men at Tonga, who pretend not to give any account of the discovery of the islands, assert that their ancestors were accustomed to visit them before the woolly race arrived from the west.

Mission to the Feejee Islands.

The progress of Christianity up to 1841 was not rapid among the savages of the Fijee group, whose habits are so entirely alien to the spirit of the gospel. It is true that the Wesleyan missionaries were allowed to form a station at some of the islands under the protection of the local chiefs, who appeared not unwilling that their people should profit by the superior attainments of the white men. Certain individuals who had been converted at Lefoega, invited the brethren to extend the benefits of the gospel to their countrymen; and hence, at various times, small colonies of Christians have hazarded all the dangers, by land and by water, which are found inseparable from such an undertaking. In the year 1836, the reverend W. Cross and David Cargill, with their families, sailed thither from the Hapais, and, arriving at Lakemba, were well received by the reigning sovereign, who encouraged them to enter upon their labours without delay. Nor were they ignorant of the character of the barbarians whom they thus undertook to civilize and enlighten; for one of the teachers resident in the neighbourhood had recently communicated to the public a fearful account of their cruel superstitions. Besides cannibalism, on which he dilates with every expression of disgust, he mentions a practice, nowhere else noticed, of burying individuals alive, who are either tired of life, or no longer fit for it. Persons too old, or too ill to be of any farther service, are the usual victims, though it is sometimes done at the request of those who, from religious motives, are desirous to change this

Atrocities of the Feejeeans.

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state of existence for a better. In this case, no effort is made to dissuade the devotee from his purpose; the willing murderers proceed forthwith to dig a hole of sufficient capacity, and placing him in a sitting posture, cast the earth upon him, which is pressed down by the feet of his own relatives and friends.*

The ba.

That the charge of cannibalism brought against the natives of this part of the South Seas is not without foundation, will appear from the following statement given by Mariner, to whose residence at Tonga we have more than once alluded. A war having arisen between the men of Pau and Chichia, both islands of the Fijee class, the latter, who were victorious, resolved to signalize their triumph by a great feast. After the usual dancing and indulgence in cava, the chief gave orders to his cooks to bring forward the repast. Immediately they advanced two and two, each couple bearing on their shoulders a basket, in which was the body of a man barbacued like a pig. The bodies were placed before the monarch, who was seated at the head of his company on an esplanade in the open air. When these victims had been arranged on the ground in due order, roasted pigs were brought in like manner; afterwards baskets of yams, on each of which was a baked fowl. These being regularly deposited, the number of dishes was counted and announced to the guests with a loud voice, when there appeared to be two hundred human bodies, two hundred hogs, two hundred baskets of yams, and the same amount of fowls. The provisions were then divided into various lots, all of which were severally dedicated to a particular god; after which they were committed to the care of as many principal leaders, who shared them out to all their attendants, so that every man and woman in the island became possessed of a portion of each article, whether they might choose to eat

A great cannibal feast.

* Ample details relative to the atrocities committed by the Fijee tribes under the sanction of religion, will be found in the Missionary Journals, most of which are too gross and appalling to be transferred to our pages.

it or not. The narrator does not positively assert, that every one present at this savage entertainment partook of the human flesh; and it is not improbable that the captive Pauans had been offered as sacrifices, or in compliance with ancient custom, rather than to gratify the palates of their conquerors. But it is not concealed that the chiefs, the warriors, and the more ferocious part of the company, did regale themselves on the unnatural diet, and that several of them feasted on it exclusively.*

The Navigators' Islands.

Leaving for a time that scene of brutal rage and sensuality, we proceed to the Navigators' Islands, which have profited to a greater extent by the spirit of improvement introduced among them by the missionaries, and are in every respect extremely important. They are situated between lat. 10° and 15° S., and long. 185° and 195° E. The number is usually said to be nine, the largest of which, named Pola or Savaii, is double the extent of Otaheite, and not inferior either in beauty or fertility. Upolu and Maouna or Tutuila are the next in size and value, the remainder being small and not very productive. They all manifest the most distinct proofs of a volcanic origin. The rocks forming the beach, upon which the sea breaks with such fury as to throw the water more than fifty feet high, are lava, basalt, and coral, united into a firm mass by the action of subterraneous heat. The hills, some of which are lofty, are clothed to the very summit with trees bearing loads of fruit. The soil of the plains is rich, and covered with extensive plantations of guavas, bananas, and sugar-cane. Pigs, fowls, birds, and fish, every where abound; and hence it is not surprising to find that the population has been estimated at not less than a hundred and fifty thousand.†

Their produce.

These islands were discovered by Bougainville, in the year 1768, who gave them the designation they still bear, from observing, it is supposed, the superior con-

* Marinor's Tonga Islands, vol. i. p. 276.

† The names of the other islands are Orosenga, Ofu, Manono, Aboruna, and Manua; in addition to which, there are several small ones near the coast of Tutuila and Savaii.

CHAP VII. struction of the canoes, and the skill with which they were managed. In 1788, they were visited by the unfortunate La Perouse, who lost there his friend M. de Langle and a number of his men, who were murdered by a party of the natives. This barbarous act conveyed such an impression of their treachery and bloodthirstiness as deterred other voyagers from approaching their coast for many years; and hence the remembrance of them was almost obliterated before they were again explored by adventurers in our own day. Captain Edwards of the Pandora appears to have determined the position of several of them, but his narrative is so imperfect, that no reliance can be placed on the conclusions which have been drawn from his statements.

La Perouse's visit.

Kotzebue, in 1824, directed his course for the Navigators', and on the 2d day of April observed the most easterly of their number rising from the sea like a high round mountain. He remarks, that the inhabitants of the whole group are far less civilized than were the Otaheitans when first discovered by Wallis. Those of Maouna, especially, are perhaps the most ferocious people to be met with in the South Sea. He visited the scene where De Langle and his comrades fell, now known by the name of Massacre Bay. The appearance of the country was inviting; the shores were bordered with cocoa-nut trees, and the freshest vegetation enlivened the interior; but nothing betrayed that the island was inhabited; no smoke arose, and no canoe was seen. This appeared the more remarkable, as on La Perouse's arrival, his ship, as soon as perceived by the natives, was surrounded by several hundred skiffs laden with provisions. At length a small canoe containing three men was seen paddling towards the Russian frigate, by the crew of which the savages were invited to go on board. Declining this offer of confidence, one of them climbed up the side high enough to see over the deck, and handed to the persons nearest him a few cocoa-nuts, all the provisions he had brought. He received in return a piece of iron, which he pressed to his forehead in sign of

Kotzebue's visit.

thankfulness, making a low reverence. Having examined the deck a long time with a suspicious eye, without speaking a word, he suddenly commenced a pathetic harangue, growing more and more animated as he proceeded, and pointing with passionate gestures alternately to the vessel and the land.

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In the midst of this address, several other canoes approached, filled, as the captain conjectured, by the descendants of the furious murderers. The wild troop appeared timid at first, but the orator having inspired them with courage, they at once became so impudent and daring that they seemed disposed to take possession of the ship by violence. To prevent any assault, the sailors were appointed to the proper stations fully armed, with orders to check their forwardness without inflicting any personal injury. It was soon found, however, that all the bayonets and lances were quite necessary to prevent an invasion from the canoes, the number of which had considerably increased; and even in defiance of repeated blows, some of the most resolute of the natives succeeded in planting themselves on board. Impelled by that covetous emotion which no savage has ever been able to repress, they grasped with both hands every object they could reach, and held it so pertinaciously, that it required the united efforts of some of the strongest seamen to throw them overboard. Except a few cocoa-nuts, they offered no kind of provisions; but by a variety of expressive gestures they invited the strangers to land, intimating, that they would be amply supplied on shore with every thing they wanted. The barbarians, it was imagined, had destined for them the fate of the too credulous Frenchmen; they appeared unarmed, but had artfully concealed clubs and short lances in their boats.

Behaviour of the natives.

A few who were permitted to remain on deck behaved as rudely as if they had been already masters of the ship—snatching from the hands of the officers some little presents they were about to distribute amongst them. There was one exception, a youth, who in return for a gift bestowed upon him, bowed to the captain with great

Their rudeness.

CHAP. VI

politeness, and almost in European fashion. The rest of his countrymen behaved like beasts of the desert, trying to seize by main force whatever struck their fancy. They even showed more disgusting propensities. One of them, for example, was so much tempted by the accidental display of a sailor's bare arm, that he could not help exhibiting his horrible appetite for human flesh; he snapped at it with his teeth, indicating, by the most unequivocal signs, that such food would be very palatable to him. Kotzebue, after remarking that cannibalism still prevails very extensively in the islands of the South Sea, warns all voyagers not to venture among the tribes who have a taste for so horrible a diet, without the utmost precaution, because they are more artful and treacherous than any other of the Polynesians. The inhabitants of Maouna are probably the worst in the Navigators' group. Intent on some wicked purpose, they continued to invest the ship with increasing numbers and less disguised ferocity. Many of them stood up in their canoes, made long speeches, accompanied by angry looks and menacing gestures. Their screams and threatenings soon became general; and, brandishing their clubs, they began to make formal preparations for an attack, which were only repelled by a display of bayonets and the fear of loaded guns.

Their appetite for human flesh.

Their physical appearance.

In point of stature, the inhabitants presented nothing remarkable, not exceeding five feet six inches, and being rather slender in form, though strikingly muscular. Their faces would have been thought handsome, had they not been disfigured by an expression of wildness and cruelty. Their colour is dark brown; some let their long black hair hang down unornamented, over the neck, face, and shoulders; others wore it bound up and fastened like a cap round the temples, which appendage being coloured yellow, makes a striking contrast with the rest of the head.*

* A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823-1826. By Otto Von Kotzebue, post-captain in the Russian Imperial Navy (2 vols. 12mo, London, 1830), vol. i. p. 265. The island called by Kotzebue Maouna, is by Williams denominated Tutuila.

The Navigators' Archipelago is, with the single exception of the Sandwich Islands, the largest and most populous in the Pacific, and will no doubt, in the course of a few years, rise into considerable importance. As they lie in the vicinity of the Friendly Islands, the Fijees, the New Hebrides, New Caledonia, and numerous smaller clusters, intercourse between them could be easily maintained, and thus a civilizing influence might be exerted upon the myriads of ignorant heathen who dwell between the Samoas and the coast of New Holland. In a word, whether we view that insular region as a scene for commercial enterprise, a field for scientific research, or a sphere for the exercise of christian benevolence, we must necessarily regard it with feelings of the liveliest interest.

Advantageous position of the islands.

A few years ago, a wish was expressed by the inhabitants of Australia, that government would form a settlement at one of the South Sea Islands, where ships might refit and obtain provisions without being exposed to danger. Were such a station determined upon, it is clear that the Navigators' group is the most eligible place for its establishment. Its central situation, the excellence of its harbours, the abundant supply of water, and the great variety of timber, ornamental and useful, are important advantages, and such as could hardly fail to ensure its prosperity. Besides, the vast extent of unoccupied land deserves consideration, when viewed with reference to a future colony. In the several valleys, there are thousands of acres of the richest soil, entirely uncultivated; indeed the portion of improved land is said to be comparatively small, for as the fruits grow in abundance without labour, the people display little care or ingenuity in agriculture. So fertile is their glebe, generally speaking, that coffee, sugar, cotton, and every other tropical production might be raised in these islands to almost any extent; and as they abound with springs and lakes, machinery might in many places be worked with the greatest facility.

Fertility of their soil.

When Williams visited the Navigators', in his character of missionary, he had with him a converted chief

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A converted chief from the Friendly Islands.

named Fauca, who, enriched with the possession of much practical good sense, proved a very useful guide to the brethren. Addressing his naked countrymen, he said, "can the religion of these English be any thing but wise and good? Look at them, and then look at us; their heads are covered, while ours are exposed to the heat of the sun and the wet of the rain; their bodies are clothed all over with beautiful raiment, while we have nothing but a bandage of leaves round our waists; they have clothes upon their very feet, while ours are like the dogs'; and, besides, behold how rich they are in axes, scissors, and other property, while we have nothing." This reasoning, which was felt and fully understood, prepared the simple natives to listen with attention to the lessons now about to be given to them. On the other hand, he requested the teachers not to begin their labours among the ignorant pagans by condemning their canoe races, their dances, and other amusements, to which they were much attached, lest, in the very outset, they should conceive a dislike to the religion which imposed such restraints. "Be diligent," said he, "in teaching the people to make them *wise*, and then their hearts will be afraid, and they themselves will put away that which is evil. Let the 'word' prevail, and get a firm hold upon them, and then you may with safety adopt measures which at first would prove injurious." This considerate convert wished that his rude Samoans should first be taught to reflect, or as he expressed it, to be made wise, being satisfied that they would soon afterwards consent to relinquish the puerilities of their contemptible superstition.

His influence at the Navigators' Islands.

Proceeding under the direction of such a leader, the missionaries soon found their toils rewarded by an unusual degree of success. The chiefs of Savaii and Upolu not only facilitated all their arrangements for the introduction of the gospel, but extended to them at once protection and encouragement, moved principally by the representations of Fauca, who had witnessed the happy effects of even an imperfect civilisation at the Friendly

Islands. He described in glowing language the triumphs of Christianity at Tongataboo, where Tupou, the most powerful man in the country, had embraced it; and also at the Hapai cluster, where all the people had become believers. In particular, he assured his wondering auditors, that those who held this marvellous faith could communicate their thoughts to one another at the greatest distance; a fact which, so well attested and so forcibly delineated, had immense weight with the natives who crowded to the teachers' houses to learn this mysterious art. Still the missionaries were disposed to question the purity of Fauca's motives; regarding him as an ambitious aspiring man, who promoted their designs chiefly on account of the temporal advantages which would result from the introduction of the new doctrines among his ignorant people. He had also penetration enough to see that his family would be raised in public estimation by the alliance which he had formed with the English, and that his own name would be transmitted to posterity as the person who had conducted the messengers of knowledge and improvement to their shores. But whatever his views or character may have been, it is admitted that his zealous persevering endeavours greatly forwarded the designs of the christian teachers.*

CHAP. VII. — His account of the Friendly Islands.

Progress of the gospel in Savaii.

After an absence of nearly two years, Mr Williams returned to Savaii, and found that the gospel had met with a very general acceptation among the rude inhabitants, who had followed in this respect the example of their chiefs. Malietoa, the sovereign ruler of the larger islands, gave instructions to one of his sons to build a chapel, while he himself was engaged in a sanguinary war with certain neighbours who had inflicted an injury on his family. Peace being restored, he resolved to open the house of prayer with due formality; but not knowing what effect the change of religion might have on the fortunes of his house, he called his children together, and informed them that he was now about to profess, in a

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 357.

CHAP. VII. public manner, his belief in Jehovah, and to take part in his worship. With one accord, they approved of his determination, and assured him that they would all follow the same course. But to this he objected, declaring that if they did so, he would adhere to the old system; adding, as a reason, that perhaps the native gods might be angry with him for deserting their altars, while it was doubtful whether the deity lately revealed to his knowledge had power to protect him against the effects of their wrath. He therefore proposed that he alone should try the experiment, and if he sustained no injury, his sons might then join him in the new ceremonies. "If Jehovah can shield me, you may with safety follow my example; but if not, I only shall fall a victim to their vengeance; you will be safe."

Conduct of the chief Malietoa.

In this good resolution he was confirmed by a chief of Rarotonga, who, in an eloquent speech, described the happy results which, in his own island, had flowed from the profession of Christianity. "Now," said he, "we enjoy happiness to which our ancestors were strangers; our ferocious wars have ceased; our houses are the abodes of comfort; we have European property; we possess books in our own language; our children can read; and, above all, we know the true God, and the way of salvation by his Son Jesus Christ. This alone can make you a peaceable and happy people. I should have died a savage had it not been for the gospel."*

Speech of a chief of Rarotonga.

The congregation, collected by Malietoa, amounted to seven hundred, all of whom appeared eager in their desire to become acquainted with divine truth, so far as their simple minds could comprehend it. On Sunday, divine service was commenced with a hymn, which was sung by the teachers only. One of them read a chapter in the Otaheitan New Testament, which he translated

* Missionary Enterprises, p. 431. The orator in this case was Makea, who had accompanied Mr Williams from the Hervey Islands to witness the triumphs of the new faith, and who on this occasion had his dark figure vested in a red surtout, presented to him by a missionary's wife.

as he went along, and then pronounced a prayer with great warmth and fluency. The discourse which followed was heard with the most profound attention; and although the appearance of the audience was singularly uncultivated and grotesque, it was impossible to view them without feelings of the deepest interest.*

Disgust of the natives with idolatry.

It is obvious, that in most cases of conversion at the Navigators' and other islands, the change was not effected by any intelligible appeal either to the reason or the conscience. Disgusted with their native idolatry, and alarmed by the appalling demands which it occasionally made upon their lives, they lent a ready ear to any teacher, however little qualified by knowledge or experience, who could tell them of a more powerful god and a less sanguinary worship. Nor were they blind to the advantages of civilisation and to the comforts with which it is always associated. "It is my wish," said one of the chiefs, "that the christian religion should become universal amongst us. I look at the wisdom of these worshippers of Jehovah, and see how superior they are to us in every respect. Their ships are like floating houses, so that they can traverse the tempest-driven ocean for months

* When the teachers were asked why they had not taught the people to sing, they replied that they had begun to do so, but as the females sang the hymns at their dances, they had thought it better to desist. For a similar reason they deemed it expedient to administer the ordinance of baptism in private, being apprehensive that the people would imitate the form among their children, as an antidote against the influence of evil spirits, storms, or earthquakes. Among the "sons of the word," as the converts were called, the missionaries observed two English sailors, who boasted that they had in their train no fewer than two hundred proselytes. Being asked how they effected their object, one of them said, "why, Sir, I goes about and talks to the people, and tells 'em that our God is good and theirs is bad; and when they listens to me I makes 'em religion, and baptizes 'em." "You baptize them!" said the querist, "how do you perform that?" "Why, Sir," the sailor answered, "I takes water, and dips my hands in it, and crosses them in their foreheads, and in their breasts, and then I reads a bit of a prayer to 'em in English." "Of course," remarked the other, "they understand you?" "No," he rejoined, "but they says they knows it does 'em good."—P. 421.

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with perfect safety, whereas if a breeze blow upon our canoes, they are in an instant upset, and we thrown into the sea. Their persons also are covered from head to foot in beautiful clothes, while we wear nothing but a girdle of leaves. Now I conclude that the God who has given to his white worshippers these valuable things must be wiser than our gods, for they have not given the like to us. We want all these articles, and my proposition is, that the god who gave them should be our god." But whatever might be the motives, it is certain that the new religion was highly esteemed by all classes; that the desire for missionaries was intense; that at many stations the people themselves erected places of worship; and that when assembled together for sacred purposes, they conducted themselves with becoming seriousness. One of the most intelligent of the teachers at the Samoan Isles expresses a doubt whether any of the inhabitants had experienced a change of heart, or that their desire for instruction arose from a knowledge of the spiritual nature of the gospel. Some of them, he admits, thought that by their embracing Christianity, vessels would be induced to visit them; others imagined that they would thereby be preserved from the malignity of the native gods; many hoped that by adopting the new religion their lives on earth would be prolonged; and a few valued it chiefly as the means of terminating their desolating wars.

Motives of conversion.

Suppression of war.

It has been already stated, that, in the year 1830, when the missionaries Williams and Barff first landed at Savaii, a dreadful contest was about to take place owing to the murder of Taimafainga, a powerful ruler. By the interposition of these benevolent men the period of hostility was shortened, and a better spirit infused into the minds of the leaders. The happy change confirmed the influence of the new faith, and led to the desire for new teachers, which was gratified to a certain extent, at least, in 1836, when several from England arrived on their shores. At a meeting of the chiefs, among whom was Malietoa, these servants of Christ entreated that the

war should not be renewed. They were assured that it should not, and, moreover, that, if any quarrel arose among the leaders, a reference would be made to them as umpires. The author of a letter from Upolu, dated two years later, calculates, that the number of Christians there is about twenty thousand; that, in Savaii, there are between twelve and thirteen thousand; in Tutuila, about six thousand; and, in Manono, all the people, amounting to not less than one thousand, have openly professed the faith of the Redeemer.

CHAP. VII.

First missionary meeting in Samoa.

In one of the districts of Aana was held, in 1837, the first missionary meeting in the Navigators' Islands. It was attended by two thousand five hundred persons; the conquerors and the conquered mingling together. Chiefs of each party delivered speeches on the occasion, in which, while they did not forget the main object of the assembly, they severally made touching allusions to their former contests, contrasting with those sanguinary scenes their present delightful harmony. On the very spot where the last destructive war was waged, a number of flourishing villages now stand, each of which has one or more schools, and divine worship is regularly performed on Sunday, Wednesday, and Friday. Even in their unconverted state, as already noticed, the manners of the Samoans, and their skill in the construction and management of canoes, were greatly superior to those of the Marquesan and the Society Islanders. Now there is farther observed a considerable degree of dignity in their behaviour towards visiters and strangers. The common dress of the men was formerly very slight, consisting of nothing more than a girdle of leaves, while the women satisfied themselves with a shaggy mat, on which they displayed all the ingenuity peculiar to the sex in matters of dress. At present the greater number wear decent wrappers of calico, with shirts and gowns; and when they cannot afford these, they appear in garments of a coarse though not unseemly cloth, manufactured from the bark of trees. Formerly when vessels arrived, muskets and beads were the articles most in demand; but now the

The manners of the Samoans.

CHAP. VII. principal inquiry is made for wearing apparel, slates, pencils, and writing paper. The master of a whale-ship recently confessed that he had carried to the Navigators' group forty muskets for barter, and had only sold two.

Great moral change in Samoa.

In a word, the history of modern missions does not supply a more powerful inducement to christian zeal, or a more gratifying reward to the intrepidity with which their great objects have been pursued. A few years ago, the European who casually landed on those islands, saw every where prevailing rapine, murder, cannibalism, and other crimes at which his heart sickened; at present, he may contemplate, at least in the christianized districts, morals comparatively pure, the exercise of a rational worship, peace, confidence, and brotherly kindness, all heightened by the assured intercourse of social enjoyment.

CHAPTER VIII.

New Hebrides, the Louisiade, Solomon, and Ladrone Islands.

These several Groups have made no Progress in Civilisation or religious Knowledge—Enjoy a good Climate, and are capable of great Improvement—New Hebrides principally discovered by Quiros—Are in most Parts very fertile—Inhabitants of the Negro Race—Visited by Bougainville and Captain Cook—The Inhabitants of Mallicollo described—Natives of Tanna Cannibals—Details supplied by Quiros—Attempts made by British Missionaries to improve the Natives—Murder of Williams by People of Erromango—Mr Heath succeeds in forming a Station—The Louisiade discovered by Torres, but named by Bougainville—Fierce Character of the Inhabitants—The Solomon Islands made known by Mendana—Visited by Carteret and other Navigators—The Inhabitants Negroes—Remarks by Surville, Shortland, and D'Entrecasteaux—New Britain, New Ireland, and New Caledonia—The Natives in a low State of Civilisation—Pelew Islands—The Ladrones—Discovered by Magellan—The Scenery very fine and cheering—People oppressed by a bad Government—Proceedings of the Romish Missionaries—Island of Guam—Inhabitants profess Christianity.

CHAP. VIII.

The New Hebrides.

Of the several groups now specified, as they have not yet made any marked progress in civilisation or religious knowledge, our account will be very brief, referring chiefly to their position, discovery, and physical properties. The first in order has indeed incurred an unfavourable distinction, as being the scene where Mr Williams, the indefatigable missionary, lost his life, under the hands of the savage natives. In other respects, it lays no claim to the attention of Europeans, beyond that prospective importance which most of the islands of the Pacific possess, on account of their fine climate, valuable produc-

CHAP. VIII. tions, and, above all, the capability they present of being one day converted into colonies, where an enlightened faith, science, art, and commercial activity, will ensure to the inhabitants all the blessings of social life.

The New Hebrides, including the islands discovered by Captain Bligh in 1789, are situated between lat. 13°.15′ and 20° 5′ S., and long. 166° 40′ and 170° E. The largest of the whole is Tierra lel Espiritu Santo, which was first made known by Quiros in the year 1606. It extends more than seventy miles from north-west to south-east, with an average breadth of twenty-five. Farther south is Mallicollo, which is more than sixty miles long, and about twenty-eight broad, having a good harbour, called Port Sandwich, near its southern extremity. Erromango is fully eighty miles in circumference, and Tanna, which lies at no great distance, is computed to be at least twenty in length. In the latter, a volcano exists in a state of great activity; and, indeed, most of the cluster appear to have had their origin in the action of subterraneous fire. Hence the peculiar form of the islands which rise into lofty hills, and even mountains of great elevation. The valleys and level tracts along the coast are extremely fertile, displaying an immense profusion of vegetable riches. It is said, that more than forty different kinds of trees and plants are cultivated. The banana, sugar-cane, yam, arum, batata, and curcuma, are grown with great care in fields regularly divided. The cocoa-nut, bread-fruit, the cabbage-tree, figs, almonds, and oranges, are common. Bamboos, pepper, and mastic, are abundant, and the nutmeg-tree also frequently occurs. The usual domestic animals are reared, especially the pig, hogs, and a variety of fowls. The inhabitants belong to the race of Australian negroes, who also occupy part of the Fijee Islands; but judging by their agriculture, it must be admitted that they have made farther advances in civilisation than any other of the kindred tribes.

Tierra lel Espiritu Santo.

Its produce and people.

Besides the obligations we owe to Bligh and Quiros for our knowledge of the New Hebrides, we are also indebted to Bougainville, who made some important dis-

coveries in 1768, and to Cook, whose investigations in 1774 have rendered them familiar to every reader. Of the inhabitants of Mallicollo, the great navigator does not speak highly. He calls them an "ape-like nation;" and farther remarks, that they are the most ugly, ill-proportioned people he ever saw, being in every respect different from any he had observed in the Pacific. They are indeed a very dark coloured and rather diminutive race, with long heads, flat countenances, and monkey features. Their hair, mostly black or brown, is short and curly, but not quite so soft and woolly as that of a negro. Their beards are very strong, crisp, and bushy, and generally black and short. But what most adds to their deformity, is a belt or cord which they wear round the waist, and tie so tight over the belly, that the shape of their bodies is not unlike that of an overgrown pismire.*

The natives of Mallicollo.

At Tanna, the discoverer was informed by the natives, that they were in the habit of eating human flesh. "They began the subject of their own accord, by asking us if we did; otherwise I should never have thought of ask-

Cannibalism in Tanna.

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* Cook's Voyage towards the South Pole, vol. ii. p. 36. "The people of Mallicollo seemed to be quite a different nation from any we had yet met with, and speak a different language. Of about eighty words which Mr Forster collected, hardly one bears any affinity to the language spoken at any other island or place I had ever been at. The letter R is used in many of their words; and frequently two or three being joined together, such words we found difficult to pronounce. I observed that they could pronounce most of our words with great ease. They express their admiration by hissing like a goose."

In reference to the island of Tanna, Cook states, that "during the night the volcano, which was about four miles to the west of us, vomited up vast quantities of fire and smoke, as it had also the night before; and the flames were seen to rise above the hill which lay between us and it. At every eruption it made a long rumbling noise like that of thunder, or the blowing up of large mines. A heavy shower of rain which fell at this time seemed to increase it; and the wind blowing from the same quarter, the air was loaded with its ashes, which fell so thick, that every thing was covered with the dust. It was a kind of fine sand, or stone ground or burnt to powder, and was exceedingly troublesome to the eyes."

CHAP VIII. ing them such a question. I have heard people argue, that no nation could be cannibals, if they had other flesh to eat, or did not want food; thus deriving the custom from necessity. The people of this island can be under no such necessity; they have fine pork and fowls, and plenty of fruits and roots."

The natives of Tanna.

At first the captain thought that the inhabitants of Tanna, as well as those of Erromango, were a race between the natives of the Friendly Islands and the people of Mallicollo, but a farther acquaintance convinced him that they had little or no affinity to either, except in their hair. It is very crisp and curly, like that of the negro families, and dark in the colour. They separate it into small locks, wound tightly round with the rind of a slender plant; and each of these not being thicker than common whip-cord, look like a parcel of small strings hanging down from the crown of the head. Some few of both sexes were seen, who had hair like that of Europeans; but it was concluded that they belonged to a different nation, and were probably emigrants from Erronan. It is to this island they ascribe one of the languages they speak, and which is nearly the same as the dialect of the Tonga Archipelago. Hence, it is presumed, that the former was peopled from the Friendly Isles, and that, in consequence of a long intercourse, each had learned to use the speech of the other.

The arts of the New Hebrides.

It was found that, besides the arts necessary for the cultivation of the ground, the people who occupy the larger islands of the New Hebrides practise no other. They know, indeed, how to make a kind of matting, as also a coarse cloth manufactured from the bark of a tree, and used chiefly for belts. But their canoes present only a very imperfect acquaintance with the rules of ship-building; while their armour, on which they bestow the greatest pains, is very inferior in point of neatness to that seen in the more eastern parts of Polynesia. Little knowledge was acquired either as to their religion or form of government. Chiefs were introduced to the English in various parts of the several islands, but no one was

observed to assume the exercise of authority, or to receive implicit obedience from the multitude.* CHAP. VIII.

In the days of Quiros, the inhabitants were more fierce and warlike than they were found by our countryman towards the close of last century; and in several encounters which took place, though the Spaniards were victorious, considerable loss was sustained. His description of the island of Espiritu Santo gives the picture of a Polynesian paradise, the shores of which were "full of odoriferous flowers and plants." There were in all parts contiguous to the sea pleasant and agreeable groves, extending to the sides of lofty mountains in the interior; and also, from the top of one which his people mounted, were perceived at a distance extremely fertile valleys, diversified by fine rivers winding among the green hills. The whole country, he maintained, had a decided advantage over America. It was uncommonly plenteous in various and delicious fruits, potatoes, yams, papas, plantains, which the soil produced in the greatest abundance. There were also in the plains and on the declivities which descend into them excellent limes. They saw almonds larger than those in Spain; there were sweet basil, nutmegs, ebony, fowls, and hogs; and they observed honey-bees, doves, partridges, and parrots.†

Quiros' account of Espiritu Santo.

Little was done for these interesting islands either in the way of religion or of general civilisation till a few

Neglect of the New Hebrides.

* Captain Cook, after mentioning that the northern islands were discovered by Quiros, and that the group was subsequently visited by Bougainville, who did no more than ascertain that the land was not connected, says, "as besides fixing the extent and situation of these islands, we added to them several new ones which were not known before, and explored the whole, I think we have obtained a right to name them; and shall in future distinguish them by the name of the New Hebrides."

† Voyage de Pedro Fernandez de Quiros, in Dalrymple's Historical Collection of the several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, vol. i. p. 136. It is well known that when Quiros touched on the shores of Espiritu Santo, he imagined he had reached the great Southern Continent, then the favourite object of speculation and research. Bougainville, by sailing round the island, put an end to the fond dream entertained by the discoverer.

CHAP. VIII. years ago, when the zealous men who had just succeeded in establishing the gospel in the Society, Friendly, and Navigators' groups, resolved to extend the blessings of light and knowledge to the New Hebrides. Embarking in the Cambden, a vessel supplied by the Society for the purpose of propagating the faith in the Pacific, Mr Williams, accompanied by a number of teachers, proceeded to Tanna, where he was uncommonly well received by the natives, and at whose request he left several missionaries. They next sailed to Erromango, the inhabitants of which, who appeared shy and suspicious, declined all intercourse, making signs to the preachers to go away. They spoke, too, a language quite different from that of the Windward Islands, so that the English on board could not understand a single word. Williams, who attributed their reluctance to admit strangers to the ill treatment which they had probably sustained at the hands of other foreigners who may have debarked on some former occasion, declared that he should not have the slightest fear to trust himself among them. To the captain, who doubted the wisdom of his resolution, he said, "you know we like to take possession of the land, and if we can only leave good impressions on the minds of the natives, we can come again and leave teachers; we must be content to do a little; you know Babel was not built in a day." Upon landing, he presented his hand to those nearest him, which they were unwilling to take, but by inducing them to accept some gifts, he seemed to have entirely gained their confidence. He therefore accompanied the party to a little distance from the shore, when, without any provocation, they commenced an attack upon their visiters, consisting of four individuals, one of whom, Mr Harris, they instantly despatched with their clubs. He himself attempted to escape by running down towards the beach; he was, however, so hotly pursued, that before he could reach the water, he was several times struck, and at length fell heavily upon his face into the sea. The body, which was dragged from the waves, lay on the sand some time, and the assassins,

Williams' visit to Erromanga.

His murder.

having retired for a moment, hope was entertained that it might be rescued from the hands of those ferocious cannibals. But before the crew could pull to the spot, they issued from the thicket into which they had withdrawn, and carried the remains into the interior, whither they could not be followed. The Cambden, being strictly a ship of peace, had no shot on board; and the noise made by an empty gun could not long intimidate the rude barbarians, who soon learn to distinguish between real power and a vain menace.*

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Measures for recovering his body.

On the arrival of the melancholy tidings at Sydney, Sir George Gipps, the governor of the colony, ordered her majesty's ship Favourite, under the command of Captain Croker, to proceed to Erromango, with the view of recovering the bodies of the two murdered missionaries. The use of this vessel, however, was granted and received on the express condition that no measures of punishment or retaliation should be adopted against the wretched natives. By negotiating with the leading chiefs, they recovered from them a few, and only a few, of the relics of these honoured men, which were conveyed with suitable respect to the Navigators' Islands for christian burial. This solemnity took place on the 31st March 1840, amidst an immense concourse of people; the officers, seamen, and marines, from the man-of-war, being also present to pay their tribute of veneration to the memory of the intrepid servants of the Redeemer, who thought not their lives too dear to be expended in his service. At a meeting of the brethren immediately afterwards, it was resolved that Mr Heath should be named successor to Williams, who forthwith took shipping for the New Hebrides, accompanied by five native teachers. Being favoured with a prosperous voyage, he had soon an opportunity of visiting the islands of Rotumah, Tanna, Immer, New Caledonia, the Isle of Pines, and even Erromango itself, at all of which stations were formed, and ministers appointed.†

Appointment of Heath to succeed him.

* Missionary Register, June 1840, p. 90.

† Report of the Directors to the Forty-seventh General Meet-

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The Louisiade.

In proceeding westward, we enter the regions of a barbarism almost entirely unmitigated by the elements of civilisation. Passing from the New Hebrides, the Louisiade presents itself; a group of islands probably discovered by Torres, after he had passed the strait which divides New Guinea from Australia, but named by Bougainville, who brought them into notice during his voyage in 1768. They are situated between lat. 8° and 12° S., and long. 150° and 155° E. As they have been little visited, our information respecting them is very imperfect. It is merely known that they are numerous, and occupy a space of more than three hundred miles, stretching from north-west to south-east, the direction, as we have already stated, which is assumed by all the islands of the Southern Pacific. Being of volcanic origin, some of them rise to a considerable elevation; and from the appearances which meet the eye of the seaman as he skirts along their coasts, it is concluded that the soil must be fertile. The inhabitants, who belong to the race of the warlike Papuas, are regarded as cannibals; but as they manifest the utmost aversion to any intercourse with Europeans, their real character has not been ascertained. No missionary has yet ventured to touch their shores; the spirit of commerce, which usually sets all danger at defiance, has not made itself acquainted with their capabilities or productions; and even the love of science, not less powerful than religious zeal or the thirst for gain, has achieved no triumph over the difficulties opposed to its progress by the brutal ferocity of such savage tribes.

The Solomon Islands.

The Solomon Islands, which were discovered by Mendana in his first voyage, 1567, form one of the most extensive of the numerous archipelagos in the Pacific. They are situated between lat. 5° and 11° S., and between long. 154° 35′ and 162° 25′ E. Though they have been visited by Carteret and other navigators, both English and French, it is presumed there are many which still remain unknown, while of those which are marked

ing of the Missionary Society, usually called the London Missionary Society (Lond. 1841), p. 5.

in our charts, nothing more has been revealed to the European geographer than could be seen from the deck of a ship at the distance of several leagues. Even their position was very inaccurately determined by the original discoverer, whose conjectures as to their longitude from Peru had no better foundation than the reckoning of his pilot. The most northern is Winchelsea, sometimes called Anson; and the southern extremity is marked by the one named Rennell. The largest are Guadalcanor, San Christoval, and Santa Isabella, exceeding seventy miles in length; while next to these may be ranked Bougainville's Island and Choiseul, each of which has been estimated at more than sixty. The central parts of the whole are rugged, and frequently very lofty; Mount Lammor, in Guadalcanor, has even been compared in altitude to the Peak of Teneriffe. The hills are generally covered with fruitful trees, and the valleys, which have been described as fertile, are said to be generally well cultivated. Bananas, yams, sugar-cane, and ginger, grow luxuriantly. The bread-fruit, cocoa-palms, cabbage-tree, almonds, Indian kale, and cloves, are found in abundance. The inhabitants, though negroes, are supposed to have made some progress in civilisation; but their character is stained with the imputation of cannibalism.*

Description of these Islands.

Owing to the vague description of Mendana's discovery communicated to the Spanish government, subsequent navigators knew not where to search for the Solomon Islands. Even he himself could not retrace his steps; nor was it till the 7th October, in the year 1769, that Surville obtained a view of the archipelago; his ship, according to the logbook, being in lat. 6° 57′ S., and long. 152° 28′ east of Paris. Proceeding along the coast in a south-

Visit of Surville.

* Spanish Discoveries before 1595, in Dalrymple's Historical Collection, vol. i. p. 45. Pingre's Mem., abridged from Figueroa. Dalrymple, vol. i. p. 44. Herrera's Descripcion de las Indias, *sub. init.* See also an "Extract from a Memoir concerning the Existence and Situation of Solomon's Islands." By M. Buachi, in Fleurieu's "Discoveries of the French in 1768 and 1769, to the South-east of New Guinea," p. 309. English translation (Lond. 1791).

CHAP. VIII. eastern direction, he found a harbour formed by an assemblage of islands, where he anchored, and named it Port Praslin. From the time of his first approaching the coast till he finally arrived in this haven, he saw a number of small islands, which, though they appeared to be continued land, he afterwards discovered to be separate, and about three leagues from what he considered a continent. He bestowed upon them the title of "Islands of the Arsacidæ," a name which, being founded on an historical mistake, they did not long retain. From their perfidious and bloody disposition, he meant to compare them to the Assassins of Upper Asia, but being misled by a similarity of sound, he applied to these savages the designation of a royal race long famous in the East.*

Visits of other navigators. The following year, Bougainville found a passage, by the north of Solomon's Archipelago, through a strait which still bears his name; and, in 1783, Mr Shortland visited the south-western coast of the group, when, mistaking the outline of the islands for one continued country, he assigned to the imaginary continent the name of New Georgia. D'Entrecasteaux has thrown considerable light on the geography of the whole. Having examined with care the southern shores of Christoval and Guadalcanor, he verified the points seen by the Englishman, and determined with greater accuracy the position of the isles discovered by Surville.

New Britain. Proceeding towards the north-west, we perceive the island of New Britain, which might, without any violation of principle, be considered as belonging to the Solomon cluster. It is situated between latitude 5° and 7° S., and long. 148° and 153° E. So late as the year 1700, it was held to be a part of New Guinea; but immediately afterwards, Dampier discovered the strait which separates the two islands. It is divided from New Ireland by St George's Channel, and presents, on the southern side, a coast of a peculiar figure, which is said to measure more than three hundred and fifty miles. The surface, which

* Fleurieu's Discoveries of the French, p. 99-101.

has been estimated at twenty-four thousand square miles, is diversified by very lofty mountains, from the highest of which smoke was observed to ascend by Carteret the celebrated navigator. It was the same officer who made known the narrow sea which separates this island from New Ireland; for, prior to his time, the two were pronounced to be but one, and both united to Papua. Dampier, who noticed the inlet to St George's Channel, considered that it was nothing more than a bay, and proceeded on his voyage. New Ireland exhibits the same geological features as the neighbouring members of this great archipelago, having a mountainous structure, though the most elevated summits appeared to be covered with wood. The same description may be applied to New Hanover, which is situated still more westward, and is about thirty miles in length. In all these islands the lower tracts are fertile, and produce the usual fruits, plants, and spiceries peculiar to that region of the Pacific. The inhabitants, who are thought to be very numerous, belong without doubt to the race of Australian negroes, bearing a strong resemblance to the savage tribes of New Guinea. They are described as stout and well made, of a very dark colour, and quite unencumbered with clothes. Being remarkable for their courage, they delight in war—acting upon the maxim not yet altogether exploded in the more civilized islands of the Society and Georgian class, that it is more honourable to die in the field than to end their days in pining sickness or loathsome disease.

New Ireland.

Connected with these islands in language and character rather than in position is New Caledonia, which stands within the parallels of 18° and 23° S., and between long. 163° and 168° E. It extends more than four hundred miles in length, but is very narrow, being nowhere more than sixty miles in width. The discovery of it is due to Captain Cook, who examined its coast in his voyage towards the South Pole, in the year 1774. He found the inhabitants friendly and good-natured, though their treatment of subsequent adventurers does not con-

New Caledonia.

CHAP. VIII. firm their claim to this favourable distinction. They are in all respects nearly related to the Papuans; display the same aspect and physical qualities, are stoutly made, have dark curly hair, with very black skins, and are moreover denounced by the French seamen who approached their shore as fierce cannibals. Their affinity to the people of New Guinea is still farther established by their language, which, while it differs from that of the nearest group, proves itself to be a dialect of the rude speech used by the natives of the island just named, as well as by those of New Britain and New Ireland.

The language of New Caledonia.

We purposely avoid details relative to hordes of barbarians who present not, either in their pursuits or institutions, any token of improvement, and who are distinguished from the wild beasts with which they dispute the occupation of their mountains only by their more ingenious methods of destruction. The same remark may be extended to the whole range of the Admiralty and Caroline Islands, if we exclude from the latter the Pelew cluster, which have been long celebrated in this country for the gentleness of their inhabitants. The narrative of Captain Wilson, who was wrecked there in 1783, has engaged in their favour the sympathy and affection of every English reader. His wants were supplied with the most generous kindness; and the king, animated by the desire to improve his subjects in the knowledge of European arts, sent his son, the Prince Lee Boo, to Britain, under the charge of his guest, who introduced the youth to the society of London. It is something singular that such of our countrymen as have since frequented those shores have returned with a very different character of the Pelew Islanders; representing them as displaying all the bad qualities incident to savage life. A similar impression had been received by Cantova and the Spanish missionaries who became acquainted with them about the beginning of last century. Even Wilson acknowledges to have witnessed the inhuman massacre of a number of prisoners who had been taken in battle; an occurrence which leaves no doubt with regard to the

The Pelew Islanders.

uncivilized condition in which the people of Abba Thulle were at the period of the shipwreck. Since that date our knowledge of the several islands which owned his dominion has not been materially enlarged, though their number, we are assured, amounts to twenty-eight, of which the largest is called Babeltoup, and is about sixty miles in length. There are no rivers in any of the Pelew group, the inhabitants being supplied with water from brooks and ponds. In 1783, there were no quadrupeds save rats; but now there are cattle, goats, and hogs, the benefaction of our navigators. The sheep that were carried thither have all been killed by the inhabitants for some reason which has not yet been ascertained; but the other animals, especially those of the bovine species, have increased abundantly, and such vessels as take the outer passage to Canton stop at these islands for provisions. The principal objects of cultivation, as in the windward stations, are yams, bananas, cocoa-nut trees, sugar-cane, and turmeric. In the forests are found ebony, and timber of so great a size that a single tree is frequently converted by the inhabitants into a canoe capable of holding thirty men. The natives are clearly of Malay extraction; they wear no clothes; their food is very simple; and their drink is limited to water and the juice of certain fruits.*

Physical condition of the Pelew Islands.

The Ladrones, which were discovered by Magellan on the 6th March 1521, received their name from the pilfering habits of the people, who, like their brethren of all shades of colour in the Pacific Ocean, were found to have very indistinct notions of property. At a later period they were called the Marian Islands, in honour of Mary Ann of Austria, the queen of Philip IV. of Spain, who issued orders for their settlement. Their number has been estimated at twenty; and they are

The Ladrones.

* Keate's Account of the Pelew Islands; and Delano's Narrative of Voyages and Travels. We ought to mention that this cluster, with others of the Caroline range, was discovered by Villalobos in 1543; but of his proceedings hardly any record is preserved.

CHAP. VIII situated in lat. 13° and 21° N., and between long. 144° and 145° 30′ E. Having a plutonic origin, their surface is extremely irregular, and in many places rises into high mountains; but the soil, wherever it is capable of cultivation, is pronounced to be uncommonly fertile.

Their productions. Almost every kind of tropical production grows with great luxuriance, including cotton, rice, indigo, sugar, cocoa, tobacco, and plantains. For these, as well as for cattle, mules, horses, and asses, they are indebted to the Spaniards. Guam, or St John, and Tinian, or St Joseph, are perhaps the best known to Europeans. It was at the latter that Commodore Anson, in his voyage round the world, landed for refreshment to his crew who had already suffered greatly from disease. The author of the narrative which bears the name of that able navigator represents the island as a terrestrial paradise, abounding in every thing necessary to the subsistence and happiness of man; and being besides exceedingly delightful to the eye, diversified by a happy intermixture of valleys and gentle hills, the scenery was attended with a beneficial effect on the imagination of the patients. But the same island, when afterwards visited by Byron, was found to have become an uninhabitable wilderness, overgrown with impenetrable thickets. This melancholy change was owing to the oppressive policy of the conquerors, who compelled the natives to remove to another island: after their departure the country fell back into the state of nature, and is now a savage waste.

Their inhabitants. The people are represented as being tall, robust, and very active; and previously to the arrival of the Europeans, they thought themselves the only inhabitants of the world. They are naturally acute, lively, and ingenious; and the females are described as peculiarly cheerful in their disposition, and graceful in their deportment. Their mechanical talents were most conspicuous in the invention of that singular vessel called by our seamen the flying prow, which has been admired by all, and chiefly by those whose skill in naval architecture qualified them to form the most accurate judgment. With a brisk wind

it sails at the rate of twenty miles an hour. Before the invasion of the Spaniards, they appear not to have been subjected to any regular form of government; every man assuming the privilege of vindicating his own rights, and avenging his own quarrels. Hence hostilities frequently broke out among the inhabitants of different districts; but it is said their battles were not often sanguinary, usually terminating with the slaughter of the leading combatants. The population of Guam, however, has almost entirely disappeared. In the middle of the seventeenth century they were estimated at a hundred and fifty thousand, whereas, according to the latest accounts, not more than one family of the aboriginal race remained. Kotzebue relates, that when the subjects of Philip took possession of the Marians, most of the inhabitants fled to the Caroline group. "Could I have transported myself," says he, "back to the time when Magellan discovered these islands, the Rurick would long since have been surrounded by many canoes with happy islanders. This was not the case now; the introduction of the christian religion has not diffused here its benign blessings, for since that time the whole race of the natives has been extirpated. We looked in vain for a canoe, or a man on the shore; and it almost seemed as if we were off an uninhabited island. The sight of this lovely country deeply affected me. Formerly these fertile valleys were the abode of a nation who passed their days in tranquil happiness; now, only the beautiful palm-trees remained to overshadow their graves: a death-like silence every where prevailed."*

Their former anarchy.

Extirpation of the natives.

* Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits, by Otto Von Kotzebue, vol. ii. p. 231. In this work he calls the principal island Guahon, and its capital Aguna; but in his "New Voyage," he writes it Agadna. By the Spaniards the one is spelled Guajam, and the other Agana. The Russian commander, whose descriptive powers have been more admired than his discretion, remarks, that the "scenery was very romantic, and seemed a paradise to us, after so long a voyage; and at the same time, the air, with its odoriferous perfumes, had such a beneficial influence on us, that we all felt ourselves

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A tyrannical government.

The same navigator again visited the Ladrones in 1824, when he found that the happiness of the people was still farther diminished by the despotism or ignorance of a bad ruler, who was even accused of having put several English and American sailors to an unjust death. The Spanish government ordered his recall, and Medenilla, whose wise measures had given rise to unwonted prosperity, was again charged with the administration of that remote settlement.

Heathenism superseded by Popery.

The religion of the natives, when the islands were first discovered, was a destructive superstition, consisting, so far as principle was concerned, of the belief in a malignant demon, whom they were taught by their priests to appease through the medium of sacrifices the most painful and revolting. But that worship gave way under the influence of the conquerors, who conferred upon them the knowledge of the true faith, which, when obscured by certain rites, however well calculated to occupy the attention of the rude mind, is very apt to degenerate into a modified idolatry. Images of the Virgin and

strengthened. The village of Massu consists of about fifteen houses, which are built in a straight line, and the spaces between them filled up with gardens. The structure is different from any thing we saw on our voyage. The house, which is from eight to ten feet square, rests on four pillars, raised five feet above the ground; the floors and walls are made of bamboo canes, which are placed so far apart from each other, that you can put your hand between them, which gives the whole house the appearance of a cage, where you may see every thing passing in the inside without entering. The construction is well adapted to the climate; the wind passes through the house, and cools and purifies the air; the roof, thatched with rushes, protects it against the rain, and the pillars against the vermin; but the appearance is extremely ludicrous, particularly if the family is in it. A large stone cross before the village, and a small one which they wear round the neck, showed the christian faith."—Vol. ii. p. 237.

Their canoes or *proas*, mentioned in the text, are convex on one side, and straight on the other. By joining two boats of the same size with a board, several islanders of the great Otdia have formed vessels which Sir Sidney Smith thought worthy of being introduced into the navies of Europe.—See Annual Register, 1805. Notice of the Experiments of Sir Sidney Smith, by Mr Boswell.

Child replaced, very generally in the Philippines and Ladrones, the hideous figures which the aboriginal savages had hewn out for themselves as representatives of those powerful spirits whose wrath they endeavoured to turn away, or whose favour they had resolved to purchase. In the days of Spanish adventure in the South Sea, clergymen accompanied every discovery ship, with the view of disseminating the kindly seeds of the christian religion; and there can be no doubt that wherever their exertions were directed to a proper field, they must have softened the temper of the natives, withdrawn them from the horrid ceremonies of their primeval superstition, and introduced among their fierce warriors the love of peace. But whatever may have been the fruits actually produced, the motives which influenced the missionaries were worthy of all praise; and, while we may regret that some attempt was not made to convey the knowledge of letters and the useful arts to their ignorant catechumens, we do not less highly appreciate the amount of the sacrifices they themselves consented to make, and the extreme sufferings which in many cases they were compelled to endure.

Zeal of Spanish missionaries.

Guam is now the only island inhabited, and the population, according to the latest accounts, amounted to about five thousand five hundred, consisting chiefly of settlers from Mexico and the Philippines. They are all Christians, and speak the Spanish language, but acknowledge no relationship to the original tribes whom they have displaced, though not a few, it is surmised, inherit their blood through the line of the female parent.

The island of Guam.

CHAPTER IX.

Sandwich Islands.

Sandwich Islands discovered by Captain Cook—Visited by La Perouse—Their geographical Position and Extent—Enterprise of the Chiefs—Seizure of an American Schooner—State in which Vancouver found the Natives—Rise of Tamchameha—He cedes to Vancouver the Sovereignty of the Islands—Trade with civilized Nations—Attempt made by Russians—Character of Tamchameha as a Reformer—Missionaries sent from America—Notice of Obookiah—The Way paved for Christianity by Rihoriho the young King—Taboo explained—Its Abolition—Supposed Motives of the Sovereign—The People admit the Change—An Attempt to revive Idolatry—Operations of the Missionaries, and Success—Religious Movement throughout the World—Chiefs devote themselves to the Study of Letters—King and Queen visit England, where they both die—Various Opinions as to the Effect of Christianity on the native Mind—Statements by Kotzebue, Lord Byron, and Captain Beechey—Funeral of the King and Queen—Laws recommended by Lord Byron—State of Society described—Great Good accomplished by Missionaries—Stewart's Journal—Vast Improvement in Manners and Accommodation—Palace, Guards, and Dress of the Court—Dedication of a Church—Progress of Luxury—Civilisation continues to advance—A "religious Awakening" in several Islands—Cautious Behaviour of a Missionary—Remarks on such Occurrences.

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The Sandwich Islands.

It is well known that these islands were discovered, on the 18th January 1778, by Captain Cook, who named them in honour of Earl Sandwich, at that time First Lord of the Admiralty. Eight years afterwards, they were visited by La Perouse, who landed at Mowee; and about

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the same period, two vessels, engaged in the fur-trade on the north-western shores of America, procured refreshments at Woahoo. Other merchantmen are understood to have followed from time to time the same track; and hence a frequent and rather confidential intercourse was established between foreigners from various parts of the civilized world and the simple natives, who now began to set some value on the productions of their soil.

Their situation and number.

The Sandwich Islands lie between the parallels of 18° 24′ and 22° 15′ north, extending in longitude from 154° 56′ to 160° 23′ west. Their number is usually limited to ten; and the names by which, according to the latest orthography, they are known among the natives, are Hawaii (Owhyhee), Oahu, Maui, Tauai, Morokai, Ranai, Morokini, Nihau, Taura, and Tahurawe. They are distant about two thousand eight hundred miles from Mexico on the east, five thousand from the shores of China on the west, and two thousand seven hundred from the Society Islands on the south.*

The several islands.

Owhyhee, the most southern and largest of the whole, is about ninety-seven miles long, seventy-eight broad, and was supposed, when first discovered by the English, to contain eighty-five thousand inhabitants. Woahoo is forty-six miles in length, and twenty-three in breadth, with a population of about twenty thousand. Towee, situated seventy-five miles north-west from the latter, is somewhat smaller in dimensions, and is supposed to possess only ten thousand residents. Mowee is forty-

* For the reasons already assigned, we retain the more ancient spelling as being familiar to the general reader, though perfectly satisfied that the letter o prefixed to Hawaii and Tahiti is no part of either word, but simply the mark of a case. The missionaries state, that the names of the several islands ought to be written and pronounced as follows:—

Ha-wai-i	Hah-wye-e	Moro-kai	Moro-kye
Mau-i	Mow-ee	O-a-hu	O-ah-hoo
Moro-kini	Moro-keenee	Tau-ai	Tow-aye
Tahu-ra-we	Tah-hoo, rah-way	Ni-hau	Nee-how
Ra-nai	Rah-nye	Tau-ra	Tow-ra

CHAP. IX eight miles long and thirty broad, its people being computed at twenty thousand. The others are of less importance; and Taura, in particular, is nothing more than a rocky islet, visited almost exclusively by those who seek a livelihood from gathering the eggs of sea-fowl which frequent it in great numbers.

Rapid progress in civilization. Before the year 1792, when the expedition under Vancouver touched at that interesting group, civilisation had advanced at a rapid pace. Several of the chiefs, availing themselves of the opportunity supplied by English and American ships, had made voyages to distant parts. One had gone to China; others had sailed to the settlements near California; and several had gratified their curiosity by a short residence in the United States. Enlightened by this experience, the people became so sensible of the advantages of a mercantile navy, that they made an attempt to take possession of some small vessels which had entered their harbours. Nay, they actually seized by force an American schooner, the crew of which they murdered, with the exception of Richard Davies, the mate, who happening to be on shore, found refuge with the King of Owhyhee, in whose service he afterwards remained.

Use of firearms. The advantage of firearms to a people so frequently engaged in war did not fail to attract their attention, and several foreigners, accordingly, who looked only to a favourable exchange of commodities, furnished them with muskets and ammunition. A number of Europeans, too, who, from various motives, had quitted their ships, instructed the natives in the use of artillery, as well as in the more simple principles of fortification. Many of the chiefs, meanwhile, had erected houses of stone, adopted in part the European dress, and even ingrafted on their scanty vocabulary such English terms as were necessary to express their new ideas, or to give names to their recent acquisitions. Owing to these causes, when Vancouver arrived he found not only the means of an easy communication with the leading persons in the several islands, but also an ardent desire to

profit by his superior knowledge, and to secure the good will of the powerful nation to which he belonged.

Contest for dominion.

At the time when Cook made known to the world the existence of the Sandwich group, the four principal isles were governed by as many independent kings, who, being frequently at war, committed great havock on each other's domains. But, about the year 1782, Tamehameha, originally a chief of inferior rank, and possessing only two small districts in Owhyhee, rose against his lawful prince, who appears to have been a cousin or even a nearer relative, and at length, by his superior talents, acquired possession of the whole cluster. The origin of the war is involved in some mystery. Kavarao, the chief ruler, is described as a tyrant, whereas his rival, who had shown an enterprising spirit from his earliest youth, possessed very popular manners, and thereby acquired great influence over the public mind. A sanguinary engagement took place, near the bay where Captain Cook was murdered, which ended in the death of the king, and the captivity of his daughter Keopuolani, who had attended her father to the field. In order to unite the right of succession to that of conquest, the victor married his prisoner, and by this means obviated a powerful competition for the throne, which must otherwise have arisen to disturb his government. At the same time, he received into favour a young commander who had belonged to the vanquished party, and who, under the name of Karaimoku, displayed such abilities, both as a councillor and warrior, as amply to justify the confidence bestowed upon him by his royal patron.

Rise of Tamehameha.

In 1792, the war was not yet brought to a close, for though the whole of Owhyhee and Mowee acknowledged the authority of Tamehameha, the remainder of the islands were still governed by the independent kings of Towee and Woahoo. Owing to a destructive pestilence which had carried its ravages over the whole archipelago, an armistice was mutually accepted ; and it was at this crisis that Vancouver, on board the Discovery, made

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his appearance in those seas. Both classes of belligerents courted the aid of the English officer, whose interposition, they were aware, would decide the contest in favour of the cause which he should choose to embrace. But he firmly declined to interfere in a civil war, the result of which he knew must be closely connected with the future fortunes of the country, and resolutely refused to supply to either side the arms that they both most earnestly solicited. He conferred upon them, however, a much greater boon, in a breed of cattle and of sheep, which Tamehameha immediately declared should be tabooed, or held sacred, for ten years; and the climate being favourable to these animals, the country is now well stocked with both, so that ships, in addition to fresh vegetables, are supplied with excellent beef. The foreigners resident in Owhyhee had also introduced the culture of many fruits and esculent plants; while, by the care that they bestowed on the goats which had been left on their island by successive navigators, they gradually made the natives acquainted with the luxuries of the dairy, and with a variety of meat more delicate than they had hitherto known.

Visit of Vancouver.

But Tamehameha had sufficient penetration to perceive that, in proportion as his insular dominions should become important in the eyes of Europeans, the independence of his government would be exposed to greater hazard. It was already suspected that the Americans, as well as the Russians, were desirous to form settlements on one or other of the islands; and therefore he resolved to place himself under the protection of a powerful nation, which, from its ascendency as a maritime state, would defeat the designs of others. It was in pursuance of this policy that he ceded to Vancouver, as the representative of the English monarch, a supremacy which he had not yet completely established in his own right. In return, our countryman assisted the aspiring rebel to build a small vessel, which proved of essential service to him in his future expeditions, so that, in the course of a few months, by the death of the King of

Cession of supremacy to Britain.

Woahoo, who fell in battle, he became sole master of the principal islands. Soon afterwards the ruler of Towee and Nihau, intimidated by the news of his triumph, acknowledged himself a vassal, and consented to hold the government as a tributary prince.

Commencement of commerce

The success of Tamehameha, whose wisdom was equal to his courage, and who was known to be desirous of an intercourse with civilized nations, opened the path to traders of every class, more especially from England and America. Indeed the discovery of some excellent harbours in the island of Woahoo, which had escaped the notice of Vancouver when examining the coast, made them become the resort of ships from all countries, which, during a lengthened voyage in the Northern Pacific, might require repairs, water, or provisions. Sandal-wood, an article of great value in the Chinese market, was found in the mountains, and soon proved the means of an extensive commerce with foreigners. In return for this production, the natives at first were satisfied with pieces of iron, nails, and coarse cloth; afterwards, as their notions of exchangeable value expanded, they required axes, guns, muskets, powder, and shot; next they bargained for Chinese, American, and British manufactures; and finally, aspiring, as we have said, to the possession of ships, they purchased with the fruits of their industry schooners and brigs measuring several hundred tons.

Advantageous position of the islands.

Without doubt, the local position of the Sandwich Isles renders them highly important to all the great trading communities of either hemisphere. On the north are the Russian settlements along the coast of their Asiatic territories; towards the north-west are the dominions of Japan; due west are the Marian Islands, the Philippines, and Canton; and on the east are California and Mexico. The establishment of the independent states of South America has of late greatly increased their value as an emporium for the commerce of that remote section of the globe, as they lie in the very track pursued by vessels passing thence to China or Calcutta. They are visited too, as has already been noticed, by

CHAP. IX. those who trade in furs in the countries bordering on Nootka Sound, as well as by the whalers, who, having found the sperm-whale on the coast of Japan, annually frequent the Northern Pacific.

Intercourse with Britain.

Meantime a friendly intercourse was kept up with the British government, on whose aid the new sovereign relied for opposing the attempts of certain adventurers who seemed determined to take possession of his islands. In particular, a person named Schiffer had excited a rebellion in Towee, which was promoted by the Russians of Petropaulauska, though not openly countenanced by the cabinet of St Petersburg. In acknowledging a gift sent by the ruler of the Sandwich Isles, George the Third assures him of his friendship, and announces that he has commanded the English navy to respect all ships sailing under the flag of his majesty King Tamehameha. A vessel built at Port Jackson was at the same time presented to him, by the direction of the same monarch, as a mark of gratitude for the kindness shown to such British subjects as had happened to enter his harbours. Intent on the improvement of foreign commerce, the usurper bought two brigs from the Americans, for which he paid in provisions and sandal-wood. Confiding the charge of his cargoes to Europeans, he sent the latter commodity and other productions to the China market, whence, besides the luxuries now required by his people, he received large sums of money, of which he already began to appreciate the convenience. His warehouses were soon filled with articles suited either for barter or commerce with the traders who should touch at his ports; and it is computed that in one year produce from his several islands was sold at Canton to the value of not less than four thousand dollars.

Prosperity in trade.

In all respects, he displayed the spirit of a reformer, being little restricted by the belief or usages of his countrymen. Feeling that the independent power of the priests was dangerous to his authority, he assumed at an early period of his reign the sacerdotal functions in connexion with those of royalty. But it is supposed that a

nearer acquaintance with the machinery of superstition soon alienated his mind from all reliance on the ancient gods of Owhyhee; at all events, there is no doubt that, before his death, he often expressed dissatisfaction at the useless forms of his own religion, and an earnest desire to know the principles of the faith professed by more civilized nations.*

Tamehameha's estimate of idolatry.

Like all other persons in the same early stage of society, he seems to have estimated the power of supernatural beings, and also their claim to adoration, by the extent of the benefits which they were enabled to confer upon their votaries. Having adopted this standard, he could not long hesitate in preferring the divinities to which Europeans were understood to bow the knee. The high attainments of the strangers compared with the ignorance of his own people; their power too, viewed as arising from their knowledge, contrasted with the feeble efforts of savages, even when inspired with the most daring courage; and, above all, the comforts and conveniences which spring from a successful application of the arts to the advancement of society, could not fail to make an impression on a mind so vigorous as that of the king, and thereby to lead to a change more or less advantageous. But he had to combat the same prejudices, sanguinary propensities, and corruptions, which had so long opposed reformation in the Society Islands, and even endangered the existence of the ancient government at Otaheite and Eimeo. The superstition at Owhyhee presented features not less horrible, and possessed over the public mind an influence still more enthralling than that of Tongataboo or Savaii. To attempt any immediate or direct change in the faith of his subjects must necessarily have been attended with much hazard to his own power, as well as to the progress of the great plan which he had formed for their future welfare. He therefore, in the mean time, contented himself with

Obstacles to his upsetting it.

* Voyage of H. M. S. Blonde to the Sandwich Islands in the Years 1824-1825, Captain the Right Hon. Lord Byron Commander (4to, Lond. 1826), p. 40.

CHAP. IX. granting every facility to the ingress of enlightened foreigners, whose example, it was hoped, would give birth to a spirit of industry, and whose wealth would enrich a large class of the people who were now employed either in producing the commodities required for exportation, or in superintending the details of traffic.

But a cause was about to be called into operation, on the aid of which Tamehameha had not calculated, though he had perhaps heard of its effects in the islands beyond the equator. The reader is aware that, so early as the year 1796, the Missionary Society had sent out teachers to several of the windward islands of Polynesia, where their success, though various according to circumstances, presented very little encouragement to the authors of this benevolent scheme. The evangelist left at the Marquesas, after spending about a year among the people, returned in despair; and the establishment at the Friendly Islands was relinquished in a similar manner, after some of the individuals of which it was composed had sunk under the hands of the natives. While the efforts of the institution were continued under circumstances so inauspicious, and with a degree of perseverance which has since been compensated by an extensive conversion among all ranks, several causes prevented them from making any efforts for communicating the knowledge of the gospel to the Sandwich Islanders. The saving light of Christianity reached them through a different channel. About the beginning of this century, the natives began to enter into the service of foreign ships as seamen, and in pursuit of this occupation several individuals at length reached the United States. Among these was a youth named Obookiah, who arrived at New York in 1809, and, being of an inquisitive turn of mind, manifested an anxious desire for instruction. The contrast presented by a civilized people, when compared with the degraded state of his own nation sunk in ignorance and idolatry, made a deep impression upon his feelings; and obtaining admittance into Yale College, he rapidly advanced in the usual studies, stimulated by the

The Missionary Society.

Obookiah.

hope that he might be qualified to convey to others the treasure on which he himself set so high a value. Above all, being a sincere convert to the true religion, and animated with zeal for the conversion of his countrymen, he constantly looked forward to the day when he might be permitted to return home, to make known to his relations the existence of the only true God, and the hope of immortality as manifested through Jesus Christ.

The American Board of Missions.

A society was formed in the year 1810, denominated the "American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," the chief seat of whose operations was in the city of Boston, though its members were drawn from various parts of the commonwealth. Hearing of Obookiah and other young adventurers from the Pacific, they established a seminary at Cornwall, called the "Foreign Mission School," the object of which was to educate such persons preparatory to their being sent back as teachers to their respective islands. The student of Yale College was placed on this new foundation; but before he could complete the course of instruction suitable for the duties on which it was intended he should enter, he was removed from his labours by the hand of death in the month of February 1818. This event, however, did not long delay the fulfilment of the design, now generally entertained, of conveying the blessings of the gospel to the inhabitants of the Sandwich group. In the autumn of the following year, a company of missionaries, under the patronage of the board just mentioned, sailed from Boston, carrying with them four natives, one of whom was son to the tributary king of Towee, and had been sent to America for his education. The barbarous death inflicted on Captain Cook, and the massacre of other foreigners at later periods, had produced an impression that the people they were about to visit were more savage and bloodthirsty than any other tribe of the South Sea. All maritime persons who were consulted in reference to the contemplated mission, declared that the natives were too much addicted to their pagan customs ever to relinquish them; that they would

Their mission to the Sandwich Islands.

CHAP. IX. never abandon their priests with the sacrifices and taboos; that the christian teachers could not possibly succeed in their attempt to convert such idolaters, but that they would be robbed and driven away, or most probably murdered for the sake of their property.

It was not, therefore, without solicitude that intelligence was expected from the adventurous missionaries. Arrival of the missionaries. At length, after a delay of seventeen months, letters arrived announcing not only their safe arrival, but also that a door had been previously opened for them, by which they could at once enter upon their labours with every prospect of a happy issue. As they approached the shore, their vessel was surrounded by natives in boats, who exclaimed "the gods of Owhyhee are no more; Tamehameha is dead; Rihoriho is king; the taboo is abolished; and the idols are destroyed."

The way had been already paved for this determination on the part of the young monarch. His father, whose eyes were opened to the benefits of civilisation, had, there is no doubt, impressed upon his mind the expediency of superseding the ancient system by one which would be attended with an increase of knowledge, wealth, and power. The method adopted by Rihoriho for promulgating his resolution was precisely that of which Pomare, the Otaheitan sovereign, had set the example. Anti-heathen movement of Rihoriho. Proceeding on the principle that the essence of Polynesian belief consists in the divine origin of the taboo, he determined to unchain the minds of his subjects from their contemptible superstition by an open violation of its precepts, and a direct defiance of the gods who were supposed to have enjoined it. The term in question, though usually restricted to such things only as were forbidden, had a much more comprehensive signification, and was applied to all persons and objects which were consecrated or devoted to the service of the invisible powers. On this broader ground, not only the priests and temples, but also the king and the chiefs who could boast of a heavenly descent were at all times considered taboo. The same character of sacredness was attached

to every thing in the slightest degree connected with their idolatrous usages. But in practice it varied greatly both in extent and duration. Sometimes only a single tree or a single animal was tabooed, and at other seasons a whole grove or herd. Sometimes only one house, a small piece of land, or a fishing-station; on other occasions, an extensive district or even a whole island was subjected to its influence. Sometimes it was limited to a day, at others it continued during weeks and even months. When applied to seasons, however, it varied in the rigour with which it was enforced; demanding, in some cases, a cessation only from ordinary work and amusement, while at others it enjoined an entire seclusion from the world, under the penalty of death. Every fire was extinguished, every sound, even to the crowing of a cock, or barking of a dog, was prevented, and a universal silence reigned throughout the whole district where the inhibition was proclaimed. Hence it is manifest, that, though intimately connected with the services of religion, the taboo, so far from consisting of any fixed observances, was in its requisitions both arbitrary and uncertain. As an instrument of power, it might be made to assume any shape which interest or caprice should happen to dictate, and to extend to all things sacred or civil, public or domestic. Besides, as every breach of it was punishable with death, it became an instrument in the hands of the sovereign and priesthood by which the people were governed as with a rod of iron.

The nature of taboo.

But though the taboo was changeable in its times and forms, there were certain points in which it was universal and unalterable. For instance, the best kinds of food were consecrated either to the use of the gods or of the male sex, the women being excluded from all participation in hogs, fowls, cocoa-nuts, bananas, the better kinds of fish, and various other viands. On the same principle, females were prohibited from entering the houses of the men, even of their parents and husbands. Now, it was on these more domestic restrictions, which

Varieties of taboo.

CHAP. IX.

were most frequently witnessed and most deeply felt, that the king resolved to make the first inroad, and thereby give a signal for the abolition of the whole, and, as a matter of course, for the complete downfal of idolatry. Having secretly consulted the high-priest and certain chiefs on whose co-operation he could rely, he announced a great entertainment, to which all the foreign traders and residents were invited. Two long tables, the one for men and the other for women, according to the former system of discrimination, were spread in the open air, surrounded by a great multitude of the common people. After the banquet was served, and all the company had taken their seats, his majesty rose with a dish in his hand denied to females, and advancing deliberately towards their board, sat down amongst them, and invited those nearest to him to partake of the meat, which he began to eat in their presence. Immediately the whole assembly exclaimed, that the food was no longer sacred, but common! The high-priest now rushed forth and set fire to an adjoining temple, and agents were sent in all directions to commence a similar conflagration. In a very few days every heathen fane throughout the Sandwich Islands was reduced to ashes, and the idols which escaped the flames were cast out as useless lumber, or reserved only as objects of curiosity to strangers.*

Abolition idolatry.

Different accounts of this event.

This event has elsewhere been somewhat differently related, though the result is the same. It is supposed that the young king Rihoriho, or Tamehameha the Second, shared his father's scepticism in regard to the national idolatry; and that upon expressing his doubts to the principal chiefs, they readily concurred in the expediency of an entire change. It was necessary, however, to obtain the sanction of his mother, Keopuolani, who, as the daughter of the legitimate monarch, enjoyed a higher rank in the estimation of the public than could be communicated to

* The Private Journal of the Rev. C. S. Stewart, late Missionary to the Sandwich Islands (Dublin, 1830), pp. 7, 8.

him by his father, whose right to the throne was doubtful. Upon being reminded that the worship of the idols was burdensome, that they required human sacrifice, and that gods of wood could not protect them, she gave her consent to the meditated revolution. Some have asserted that the abolition of taboo was a mere frolic on the part of Rihoriho; but there is no ground for questioning the belief that the measure had been deliberately considered, and the execution maturely planned.*

Motives for the abolition.

It is not easy to appreciate all the motives which led Rihoriho to a determination at once so bold and important. There cannot, however, be any doubt that his intercourse with foreigners must have created scepticism as to the supposed origin of his faith, and a feeling of contempt for its superstitious ritual. The enlightened European could not conceal from him the sentiment of abhorrence with which human sacrifice, infanticide, and the humiliation of the softer sex were regarded; while, as to the reverence manifested towards the unseemly idols of wood or stone, the most superficial exercise of reason must have convicted him of childish credulity. At the same time, it is not improbable that his resolution may have been strengthened by his knowledge of what had taken place some years before at the Society Islands. At all events, the American missionaries met a favourable reception from him and the principal chiefs. They were immediately established in Owhyhee, Woahoo, and Towee, with such prospects of extensive usefulness, that the first communication from them to their patrons at home were accompanied by an earnest application for a greater number of teachers.†

Reception of the missionaries.

Mr Ellis is convinced that the main purpose of the king in pursuing the decisive course just described, was, in the first place, a desire to improve the condition of

* Lord Byron's Voyage to the Sandwich Islands, p. 43-46. In the introduction to this work are some valuable notices illustrating the history and manners of this primitive people.

† Stewart's Journal, p. 9.

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the women, and especially of his wives, whom the taboo sunk into a state of extreme wretchedness and degradation. He seems also to have been influenced by a wish to diminish the power of the priests, as well as to prevent that useless expense and those cruel privations which were demanded by the established idolatry. It is manifest, however, that he had secured the connivance or approbation of the principal members of the sacred order, by whose means he removed from the minds of the multitude the dread that a signal vengeance from the gods would follow the abandonment of their worship. The guardian of the war-idol declared that no evil would follow the change which the sovereign recommended; and as soon as the marais with their bloody altars were thrown down, he resigned his office, as having no longer either object or authority.*

Connivance of the native priests.

The views of the common people being less disguised, were more easily comprehended. When asked by the missionaries who was their god, they said they had none; formerly they had many, but now, having cast them all away, they worshipped no idol. Being interrogated whether they had done well in rejecting them, they replied in the affirmative, for the taboo occasioned much labour and inconvenience, besides draining off the best part of their property. They were asked whether it was a good thing to have no god, and to recognise no being to whom they ought to render religious homage; to this they answered, that perhaps it was good, for they had not to provide for the great sacrifices, and were under no fear of punishment for breaking taboo; that now one fire cooked their food, and men and women ate together the same kind of provisions.†

General feeling of the people.

But though the people in general adopted the sentiments of their king, a considerable party showed a disposition to check the current of innovation. Kekuaokalani, to whom the late sovereign, a short time before his death, confided the care of the gods and their temples,

* Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 126. † Ibid. p. 201.

took up arms, moved, it was thought, by ambitious views not less than by zeal for the expiring superstition. A decisive battle was fought in the autumn of the year 1819, which, after continuing from morning till sunset, terminated in favour of Rihoriho, who was gratified by the intelligence that his enemy had fallen. This victory made him sole and undisputed monarch of the Sandwich Islands, the summit of his ambition and the consummation of his wishes, inasmuch as no member of the elder branch of his family any longer remained who had power or inclination to dispute with him the ascendency to which he had attained.

Triumph of Rihoriho

The abolition of idolatry was now complete; and for a time the whole country was without any outward or visible religion. In private, it is probable, the wonted demands of the ancient ceremonies were complied with; the statues thrown down in the light were replaced during the darkness; and the barbarian, bound by his fears to the power of the invisible god, practised when alone the rites of his deprecatory worship. At all events, a wide space was cleared for the exertions of the christian missionary before any of the brotherhood touched the shores; and whatever grounds of opposition the gospel had to encounter, we must not enumerate amongst them the jealousy of a bigoted government or the resistance of an established faith.

Free scope for the gospel.

We have no intention of entering into a minute narrative of the proceedings which issued in the conversion of the natives throughout the wide archipelago where the American teachers thus obtained a footing. In due time, they received aid and encouragement from some English friends, whose experience in the Society Islands had qualified them to communicate useful directions to their fellow-labourers in the gospel. Mr Ellis, as formerly stated, accompanied thither the two commissioners sent out by the directors in London, and during his short stay, not only taught the anxious people the things which concerned their everlasting peace, but presided over arrangements which seemed calculated to secure to them

CHAP. IX. a permanent ministry, as well as the means of instruction for their children.

In 1831, the Board at Boston issued a statement relative to the necessity and claims of similar institutions, in which they give an outline of their success during the period which had elapsed from the commencement of their operations. Ten years ago, say they, there were no books in the Sandwich Islands; now two presses cannot supply what is wanted, though more than twenty thousand volumes are annually thrown off. Ten years ago, reading and writing were unknown to all classes; now thousands write, and many thousands read. Ten years ago, there was not a single school in the whole group; now six hundred natives, instructed by the missionaries, are employed as teachers in the several islands. Ten years ago, the natives, without exception, were ignorant of God, his law, and his gospel; they were pagans, addicted to infanticide, intemperance, and all the abominable vices of the lowest savage life; the whole mass, indeed, was so corrupt, that their numbers were rapidly diminishing in consequence of crimes injurious to the progress of population. Now the moral code contained in the ten commandments is the law of the land; the whole nation is at least professedly christian; the order, decency, and comfort of civilized life are rapidly gaining ground; multitudes are exemplary in their conduct, and not a few are truly pious.

Progress during ten years.

In Woahoo alone, there is a society of three thousand five hundred persons of both sexes, who meet weekly for prayer; and in the same island there is an association, amounting to a thousand, formed for the purpose of religious inquiry and the suppression of vice. All the members solemnly bind themselves not to distil, or buy, or sell, or drink any kind of ardent spirits; not to offer them to their friends, nor to give them to their labourers." The great work of preparation, at least, has been accomplished. In most parts, a missionary can now enter sooner on his labours, and accomplish much more in the same time, and to greater advantage, than he could some years

The Christians in Oahu.

ago. He has ampler facilities for learning the language, manners, customs, prejudices, and wants of the people. He can converse and preach much sooner; and the press, aided by the desire of the natives to read, increases his power beyond calculation. Thus, there has been produced not only an increased demand for the services of such men, but also an augmented value in their exertions, whether in school or pulpit.

Movement throughout the world.

Much has no doubt been accomplished, but, in point of fact, the process of evangelizing the world has only commenced. The labourers as yet bear no proportion to the boundless extent of the harvest which will hereafter be reaped. In every quarter of the globe the old systems of false religion are losing their hold on the public mind, and the inhabitants are looking wistfully to Christendom for aid. The consecrated walls of China are falling into dust; no new temples of heathenism are building on the vast plains of India, and the old ones are crumbling into ruins. Of the Brahmins, formerly accounted so sacred that their curse or blessing was supposed to convey the wrath or the smile of heaven, many have deserted their profession, and betaken themselves to some secular employment. The rain-makers of Southern Africa can no longer maintain their influence; the system of witchcraft, so cunningly devised, and so sternly supported in that extensive continent, ceases to assail the fears of the Caffre or Hottentot; and the crude intellect of those barbarians, gradually matured by the light of knowledge, and the warmth of christian zeal, has at length begun to put forth its powers, and to vindicate for them a place among intelligent beings. Every where the ears of the faithful catch the sound of that inspiring voice, "Behold, I make all things new."*

Condition of Africa.

* Memoirs of American Missionaries, with an Introductory Essay, by the Rev. Gavin Struthers, and a Dissertation on the Consolations of a Missionary, by the Rev. Levi Parsons, p. xxv. Glasgow, 1834. In this little volume are to be found some interesting notices relative to the settlement of missionaries in the Sandwich Islands.

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Tamehameha II. aids the missionaries.

It is not perhaps unworthy of notice, that Tamehameha II., who afterwards proved a pupil remarkable at once for his zeal and assiduity, was at first disposed to reject the services of the christian teachers. Some of the traders who frequented his ports excited his fears or jealousy, by representing to him that the missionaries would probably interfere with the government of the islands, and that the influence they would certainly gain over his people might be rendered dangerous to his power. After a short deliberation, however, he determined to admit them. His desire for obtaining knowledge in the worship and literature of Europeans overcame all other considerations; besides, he recollected that their number was so small, that it would be easy to repress their insubordination should they manifest any symptom of misconduct. He gave them a piece of ground for a church near his own residence, assigning also houses and gardens sufficient for all their wants; while he himself, his queen, and other chiefs of both sexes, applied diligently to the task of learning to read and write. In this latter art their progress was so rapid that they were soon able to address letters to each other; an attainment which occasioned the greatest satisfaction, viewed simply as an amusement, but still more when regarded in the light of a convenience, political or commercial.*

He and his nobles study letters.

* In reference to the suspicions entertained by the natives as to the motives of Europeans who visited their country, we quote a paragraph from Mr Ellis. When in Owhyhee, he entered into conversation with the people on the subject of missionaries. "In general they approved, saying, they had dark minds and needed instruction. Some, however, seemed to doubt the propriety of foreigners coming to reside permanently among them. They said, they had heard that in several countries where foreigners had intermingled with the original natives, the latter had soon disappeared; and should missionaries come to live at Waiakea, perhaps the land would ultimately become theirs, and the *kanaka maore* (aborigines) cease to be its occupiers. I told them that had been the case in some countries; but that the residence of missionaries among them, so far from producing it, was designed and eminently calculated to prevent a consequence so melancholy. At the close of this interview, some again repeated that it would be good for missionaries to come; others expressed doubt and hesitation."—Vol. iv. p. 319.

As the mind of the young king expanded under the lessons of his tutors, he became more deeply struck with the difference between his own subjects and the natives of a civilized country, and also with a desire to extend among the former the improvement which had merely begun. But in forming the resolution to visit England, he is supposed to have been partly influenced by the motives already mentioned, more especially the wish to protect his dominions against the designs of other nations who might attempt without his permission to establish settlements on the coast. Actuated by a sense of his own weakness, similar to that which led his father to make a formal cession of the whole islands to Great Britain, he conceived that a personal interview with the English monarch might still more effectually secure his protection, and even assist him in following out the plan he had formed for the advancement of his people in the elements of learning, as well as in the principles of true religion. The result of the voyage is known to every one. Rihoriho and his consort died of measles in July 1824, without having obtained the object for which they had left their distant home, a conference with George the Fourth. His majesty, however, conferred upon their official attendants the honour which he had not an opportunity of granting to the young sovereign. In the month of September he received them at Windsor; and though prepared for the magnificence of his court and the graciousness of his manner, they were not a little astonished at both. They were deeply affected by the kindness of his expressions when speaking of the death of their king, and of his wishes for the prosperity of their native islands; but above all, their joy was great at the promises of protection to their government against all foreign designs.*

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He resolves to visit England.

He and his queen die there.

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* Lord Byron's Voyage, p. 72. As the king had expressed a desire that the remains of himself and his queen should be conveyed to the Sandwich Islands, orders were issued to the Admiralty to prepare the Blonde frigate, commanded by the young nobleman just named, for this solemn duty. His lordship sailed

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What the royal pair had accomplished.

In relation to the royal couple, it is remarked, that, young as they were, untrained by scholarship or by example, they had broken down the barriers of superstition, paved the way for laws, literature, and true religion and, in the hope of securing the protection of the state which they deemed most likely and most able to guard them, they had completed a voyage round one-half of the globe, and died in a foreign land, feeling less regret at the loss of life than that they had not fully accomplished the object of their heroic expedition. "Perhaps," says Lord Byron, "the perfect faith reposed in the English by the people of the islands, is the strongest proof that ever could be given by a whole nation of simple-mindedness and freedom from guile. There was not a moment's irritation, not a moment's suspicion that unfair means had been used to shorten their days; and we were received as brothers who would sympathize with their grief, and as friends who would be glad to heal their wounds."*

Extent of the revolution.

The various facts stated in this chapter must remove all doubt from the mind of the reader as to the extent of the revolution effected in the Sandwich Islands dur-

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from Spithead on the 29th September 1824, and the bodies were landed at Honoruru on the 11th May following.

* Voyage, p. 125. Mr Ellis writes of Rihoriho as follows:— "His general knowledge of the world was much greater than could have been expected. I have heard him entertain a party of chiefs for hours together with accounts of different parts of the earth, describing the extensive lakes, the mountains, and mines of North and South America; the elephants and inhabitants of India, the houses and manufactures of England, with no small accuracy, considering that he had never seen them. He had a great thirst for knowledge, and was diligent in his studies. I recollect his remarking one day, when he opened his writing-desk, that he expected more advantage from that desk than from a fine brig belonging to him, lying at anchor opposite the house wherein we were sitting. Mr Bingham and myself were his daily teachers, and have often been surprised at his unwearied perseverance. I have sat beside him at his desk sometimes from nine or ten o'clock in the morning till nearly sunset, during which period his pen or his book has not been out of his hand more than three quarters of an hour, while he was at dinner."—Vol. iv. p. 446.

ing the five years which preceded the demise of Tamehameha the Second. Opinion has been less determined in regard to the moral improvement of the people; their knowledge of the religion which they now profess to hold; and the depth to which it has descended in their affections. The reports of the missionary have been called in question, both because he may be suspected of a wish to magnify the fruits of his labour, and because, in his intercourse with his converts, he may be deceived by appearances which require a closer inspection than he is willing to bestow. Like a good-natured teacher, he gives his pupil credit for greater progress than he has really made, thereby gratifying at once a certain vanity in himself, and in the other a love of praise, which is not a stranger even to the least cultivated mind. Aware of these sources of error, we think ourselves entitled to make a due allowance, both when we read the narratives of nautical adventurers, who view things through an unfavourable medium, and when we peruse the records of the christian teacher, who stands too near his object to see it distinctly.

Reports of the missionaries

For example, the author of a "New Voyage round the World" writes under a manifest bias, and with the purpose, it should seem, of affording merriment to his readers rather than sound instruction. The view exhibited by him of the character of Rihoriho is at once inconsistent and unjust. That the prince was occasionally addicted to strong drink is not concealed by the missionaries themselves, who enjoyed his protection, and who were proud of him as a convert; but that he wasted his time and his health in orgies, frequently emptying a bottle of rum at a draught, will not be readily believed by those who have marked his conduct in the national reformation he accomplished, or who could appreciate the motives which carried him to England. To supply us with a reason for such bold measures, we are simply informed that he wished to distinguish himself by some effort in favour of his people; that he was a freethinker in a bad sense; and that he hated the religion of his

False accounts of the king.

CHAP. IX. country because it laid some restraints upon his inclinations, and therefore he determined to overthrow it. This he did, we are assured, not for the purpose of introducing a better,—a task to which his feeble mind was unequal,—but to relieve himself and his subjects from ceremonies that he considered useless, and to throw aside those precepts of morality interwoven with them, for the sake of which his father had conscientiously observed the ancient usages.*

Deteriorations among the inhabitants.

We are ready to admit that there is too much ground for the dark colouring applied by this author to the picture which he draws of the inhabitants, who have unquestionably lost much of the simplicity and innocence which formerly distinguished them. The profligate habits of the settlers from all nations, and of the numerous sailors with whom they constantly associate, have had a most prejudicial effect upon their morals. Many public houses are opened, where the means of intoxication can be procured; the keepers, in many cases, being runaway seamen, who, in order to increase their own profits, have

* A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823, 1824, 1825, and 1826, by Otto Von Kotzebue, Post-captain in the Russian Imperial Navy (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1830), vol. ii. p. 197. In Lord Byron's narrative it is mentioned, that during the residence of the Sandwich Islanders in London, "the decorum of their behaviour was admirable. Not one instance occurred of their overstepping the bounds of decency or civility in their intercourse with the different persons appointed to wait on them; not a suspicion that any one of the chiefs had offered the slightest insult to any woman; nor was there any of that gluttony and drunkenness with which those islanders, and especially the king, had been wantonly charged by some who ought to have known better. Perhaps the strongest proof of this is, that the charge at Osborne's, during their residence there, amounted to no greater an average than seventeen shillings a-head per day for their table. As they ate little or no butcher's meat, but lived chiefly on poultry, vegetables, and fruit, by no means the cheapest articles in London, their gluttony could not have been great. So far from their always preferring the strongest liquors, their favourite beverage was some cider, with which they had been presented by Mr Canning."

But that justice may not be withheld from the Russian commander, we must refer to Stewart's Journal (pp. 107, 108), where the frailties of the king occupy a conspicuous place.

recourse to every means which may tempt the people to excess. Luxury, too, has made great advances. Even among the lowest class of the people, some article of European clothing is universal. The females especially set their hearts upon the most fashionable mode of dress; whatever the queen wears is their model, which they imitate to the utmost of their power. The domestic utensils formerly in use have entirely disappeared even from the poorest huts; and Chinese porcelain has superseded the manufactures from the gourd and the cocoanut. The love of foreign wares is, in many cases, a fertile source of crime; debt is incurred, fraud is practised, and positive violence is not altogether unknown between buyer and seller. In a society just emerged from barbarism, such disorders ought not to excite any surprise. All rude nations are addicted to theft, lavishing their highest praises upon the culprit if he escape detection, and blaming nothing in the act but the want of ingenuity. The chiefs of Owhyhee were formerly great adepts in this art; nor was it till they found such a mode of appropriation to be held disgraceful by Europeans, that they left the practice of it to their attendants, who accompanied them in their visits for the express purpose. One of the teachers laments, that in this manner they are constantly losing the most valuable articles. In two or three instances, clothes to a very considerable amount were taken from trunks, the locks of which were broken by the depredator while sitting upon them, and apparently taking a deep interest in conversation with some of the family. In these cases, however, the thief was dressed in a large cloak, which concealed his movements, and afforded a cover for the booty in his retreat.*

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Desire for finery.

Thieving propensities.

Captain Beechey, who visited Woahoo soon after the Russian ship had left the Sandwich group, bears testimony to the altered state of society, as well as to the temptations which now assail the half-confirmed principles of the natives. He remarks, that nothing more

* Stewart's Journal, p. 144.

CHAP. IX. strikingly proves the superiority of the country of Tamehameha over the Society Islands than the number of wooden houses, the regularity of the town laid out in squares, intersected by streets properly fenced, and the many notices which appeared right and left on pieces of board, announcing "an Ordinary at one o'clock, Billiards, the Britannia, the Jolly Tar, the Good Woman," and similar designations. At the same period, there were in Woahoo several respectable merchants, in whose stores were to be found all the necessary articles of American and European manufacture, the productions of the China market, wines, and almost every other commodity required for luxury or comfort. There were also two hotels, at which a person might board comfortably for a dollar a-day, and two billiard-rooms, one of which belonged to the brother of the prime minister. The houses of the chiefs were furnished with tables and chairs, and those belonging to Kahumanu were decorated with sofas, having silk or velvet cushions. The same personage, who had filled several chests with the most costly tissues of China, is said to have expended four thousand dollars upon the purchase of a single cargo. One of the king's ministers paid three thousand dollars for a service of plate which he presented to his master, though he had other services in his possession, one of which, consisting of beautifully cut glass, was furnished by a distinguished manufacturer in London.

Social improvement

Civil and political progress.

Nor was the change less striking which had taken place in the civil and political institutions of the country. The king was now regularly attended by a guard under arms; a sentinel presented his musket whenever an officer entered the threshold of the royal abode; and a body of troops regularly paraded on the ramparts, which already mounted forty guns. In the spring and autumn, the harbour was crowded with foreign vessels; as many as fifty being seen there at one time. Five thousand stand of arms were said to be distributed over the island; three hundred men were embodied and dressed in regimentals; and the national flag was daily

displayed by five brigs and eight schooners. The government had already received consuls from Great Britain and America, with both of which powers the regency had concluded treaties of alliance. Much benefit is expected from the appointment of the official residents deputed by the authorities of their respective countries; greater effect being produced on the simple mind by example than by the most luminous precept, more especially in matters of religion and domestic morals.

CHAP. IX.

Funeral of the king and queen.

On no occasion did the improved habits of the people appear to greater advantage than at the funeral of their sovereigns. Every thing native and ancient seemed to have passed away; the dead chiefs lay in state invested in more splendid cerements than their ancestors could ever have pictured to their imaginations; no bloody sacrifice stained their obsequies, no indecent ceremony roused a sentiment of shame or reproof in the hearts of the European visiters; but instead, there was hope held out of a resurrection to happiness, and the sublime doctrine was promulgated, which, while it announces an atonement for sin, promises the highest blessing to the purest spirit. Where only the naked savage was lately seen, the clothing of a cultivated people was now generally adopted; and mingled with them on this solemn occasion were the warlike and the noble of a great country, on the opposite side of the globe, teaching by their sympathy the charities which at once soften and dignify human nature. The furious yells of brutal orgies were now silenced; and when the solemn sounds were heard for the first time, committing the bodies to the earth, in the sure and certain belief of the Redeemer's second advent, it was impossible not to be struck with the deepest awe at a change which, when contrasted with the rapidity of its occurrence, appeared almost miraculous.*

Christian character of the burial.

On the 6th day of June 1825, a solemn assembly was held for the purpose of confirming the nomination of the young king, brother to Rihoriho; for though the crown was in some respects hereditary, the consent of the chiefs

* Byron's Sandwich Islands, p. 129

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seemed indispensable to the accession of a minor. The question, whether the boy Kiaukiauli should be invested with the sovereignty, was carried by a unanimous and decisive affirmative. Immediately after this resolution, it was enacted by these representatives of the higher class, that the reversion of land to the monarch on the death of the occupant should not be longer continued, but, on the contrary, that the son should succeed to the father, except in cases where the public law had been violated by treason or the refusal of taxes. Boki, who had been in England with the late prince, stated that, after the lamented death of his master he had made application to King George for the benefit of the country, on the ground of the compact between Captain Vancouver and Tamehameha the First; and that his British majesty consented to watch over the islands, promising, that if ships of war came hither to do mischief, he would drive them away. He added, that above all, he exhorted them to abstain from fighting and from vice. He remarked, that whilst he was in London, he had been edified by the attachment of the people to their king, and had learned to regard his own young prince the more by their example. He then paid a high compliment to the English, on account of the kind treatment he and his companions had received, and ended by assuring the council, that "if the bowels of all the chiefs yearned as his did towards the young king, all things would proceed happily."

Accession of Tamehameha III.

Byron's hints to the regent.

The opinion of Lord Byron being requested, he presented to Karaimoku, the regent, a paper containing a few hints respecting their affairs, which he wished them to look over at their leisure. If they approved, he begged they would adopt them as their own, not as the dictates of the British government, which, he assured them, had no wish whatever to interfere with the regulations of the chiefs, who, it was acknowledged, must be the best judges of what suited the people. A conversation then ensued on the subject of missionaries, and his lordship was asked whether King George had any objection to the settlement of the American teachers in the islands, and

to their instructing the natives. The commander of the Blonde replied, he had heard that these persons had an intention of drawing up a code of statutes, and to this he decidedly objected; but so long as they did not meddle with the laws or commerce of the country, he could not object to their instructions in reading, and in the principles of the christian religion. One of the missionaries who was present (and whose constant presence in all scenes of business had probably suggested his lordship's remarks) disclaimed all intention of interfering in political or commercial concerns, being prohibited from engaging in such pursuits as well by their commission as by the private directions of their patrons.*

Alleged intrusiveness of the missionaries.

An allusion has just been made to the intrusive disposition of the missionaries, especially one of their number; and the complaint is not confined to a single navigator. Perhaps, as this field of christian philanthropy had been selected by the American preachers, their breasts may have been accessible to a slight emotion of jealousy in regard to the Russians and English; while, with respect to the enactment of laws, they might meditate nothing more than had been accomplished in the Society Isles, under the sanction of King Pomare. At all events, there is no doubt that Kotzebue, Byron, and Beechey, considered them more active than enough in matters not

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* The paper which Lord Byron handed to Karaimoku, as containing his views concerning the business on which the council had met, contained the following articles:—

1. That the king be the head of the people.
2. That all the chiefs swear allegiance to the king.
3. That the lands which are now held by the chiefs shall not be taken from them, but shall descend to their legitimate children, except in cases of rebellion; and then all their property shall be forfeited to the king.
4. That a tax be regularly paid to the king, to keep up his dignity and establishment.
5. That no man's life be taken away except by consent of the king, or the regent for the time being, and of twelve chiefs.
6. That the king or regent can grant pardons at all times.
7. That all the people shall be free, and not bound to any one chief.
8. That a port-duty be laid on all foreign vessels.

CHAP. IX. strictly comprehended in their professional undertaking, nor closely allied to their spiritual functions. "We believe," says one writer, "mistaken zeal to be the source of many of the errors we see; but we fear also. that in some the love of power has mingled with zeal, and that the government of the country, through the medium of the consciences of the chiefs, is a very great, if not the principal object, of at least one of the mission."*

Incorrectness of the charge. The charge here insinuated has been met by a flat denial on the part of the individuals chiefly implicated in it; and we are satisfied that, when thoroughly examined, the unfavourable appearances will be found not to have exceeded the cares which an anxious teacher might display towards catechumens whose principles were not firmly established. The love of learning at first manifested among the natives was neither steady nor enduring. Soon after Christianity was introduced into the islands, several of the chiefs who had been taught to read and write were so delighted with their acquisitions in these arts, that they considered no degree of labour too great to extend and perpetuate them. But this flame soon exhausted itself by its very intensity; and education, in other respects, has made much slower progress than every friend to improvement could desire.†

Christian zeal of the missionaries. It is admitted by the author, whose sentiments are conveyed in these remarks, that the missionaries were extremely anxious to diffuse a due knowledge of the tenets of the gospel, and laboured much to accomplish their praiseworthy purpose; but it is added, that those who have resided in the country know well the little effect their exertions have produced, probably on account of the tutors having mistaken the means of spreading education. "In the Sandwich Islands, as in all other places, there is a mania for every thing new, and, with due reverence to the subject, this was very much the case with

* Voyage to the Sandwich Islands, p. 145-147.

† Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific and Behring's Straits vol. ii. p. 100.

religion in Honoruru, where almost every person might be seen hastening to the school with a slate in his hand, in the hope of being able soon to transcribe some part of the Scriptures. This feeling, under judicious management, might have produced the greatest blessings Woahoo could have enjoyed; and the gentlemen of the mission might have congratulated themselves on having bestowed upon the inhabitants the most important benefits But they were misled by the eagerness of their hopes, and their zeal carried them beyond the limits calculated to prove beneficial to the temporal interests of a people still in the earliest stage of civilisation."*

New system of education.

The apparent thirst after spiritual knowledge at Honoruru created a belief among the missionaries that this feeling was universal, and auxiliary schools were established in different parts of the island, at which, it was said, every adult was required to attend several times a-day. When this demand upon their time was confined within reasonable limits, the chiefs, generally, were glad to find their subjects listen to instruction; but, when men were obliged to quit their work, and repair to the nearest school so frequently during the day, so much mischief was produced by loss of labour, that many of them became desirous of checking it. A powerful party, at the head of which were the king and the regent, exerted themselves to counteract the tendency of the new system. The Ten Commandments had been recommended as the sole law of the land, a proposition which was at first resolutely opposed by the government. A meeting was called by the missionaries to justify their conduct, at which they lost ground by a proposal that the younger part of the community only should be obliged to attend the schools, and that the men should be permitted to continue at their daily labour. The king, whose riding, bathing, and other exercises had been restricted, now threw off all restraint, and appeared in public wearing the sword and feather belonging to the

Opposition to this by the government.

* Beechey, vol. ii. p. 102.

CHAP. IX. uniform presented to him from this country by Lord Byron, which his preceptor had forbidden him to use, under the impression that it might excite his vanity The boys, following the example of their youthful sovereign, resumed their games, which had also been suppressed; and the streets, occupied by happy children, wore a more cheerful aspect.*

Great good done by the missionaries. But, though the teachers may have been unseasonably urgent, or even indiscreet, let it not be forgotten that the good they have effected, and the positive benefits they have conferred upon the natives, would compensate for more errors, if such they be, than have been any where laid to their charge. It is not indeed denied,

* Voyage to the Pacific, vol. ii. p. 103. The candour of Captain Beechey cannot be called in question, and we are satisfied that he relates exactly what he saw and heard, though the missionaries accuse him of yielding to a bias at once unfavourable to their interests and not quite consistent with facts. Mr Stewart, in his " Visit to the South Seas," gives a somewhat different account of the assembly convened for enacting laws: the design of which, we are told, was to publish the Ten Commandments, without any penal obligations, preparatory to the promulgation of specific statutes founded upon them. " Some of the missionaries had been invited by the regents, Karaimoku and Kahumanu, to be present; on information of which reaching the European residents, a party of leading individuals from their number violently and riotously interrupted the council, with such menaces and threats against the members of the mission, even to the taking of life, that the chiefs were utterly intimidated, and for the time relinquished their purpose." We could have wished to see, on the part of Mr Stewart, a little more generosity than to allege that the residents, who have much at stake, " wished the whole nation to remain lawless in points not affecting the interests of their own property or persons."—P. 325.

We can discover, through the medium of events, that the missionaries owed no small portion of their influence to the good offices of Kahumanu, who had succeeded in dividing with Boki the power of the regency. This lady, who appeared to be a sincere convert, reflected on the christian teachers the rays of her favour, perceiving that their exertions were directed towards the support of the government which she administered in the name of her late husband's grandchild. Boki, who desired not her co-operation, was less esteemed among the ministers of religion; hence the origin of the jarring which disturbed the early years of this reign.

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even by those who view their proceedings through the least favourable medium, that the cause of christian benevolence has gained a great triumph in the abolition of infanticide, human sacrifices, and more especially by the removal of that gross licentiousness which sometimes accompanied even the acts of worship. Much, no doubt, remains to be done before true religion shall completely supersede, by its refined morality, those vicious habits which were produced and encouraged by the ancient superstition: and yet in no part of the South Sea has the power of truth and civilisation been more strikingly manifested than in the larger islands of the Sandwich group. For a proof of this, the reader is referred to the works of Mr Stewart, who visited that portion of Polynesia at two different periods. In the days of Rihoriho, who occasionally sunk into the savage, he relates, that he "found the king and the people about him in a state of great intoxication. None of our party, chiefs or people, were to be seen! At eleven o'clock, we repeated our visit, but all was riot and debauchery, and not meeting with any of our pupils, we quickly turned from so melancholy a scene of licentiousness and intoxication. At sunset we went again to the beach. The wild and heathenish sounds of the song and the dance were distinctly to be heard, long before we reached the place of our customary worship; and the tent of the king was still the centre of revelry. Never can we forget the appearance of Keopuolani. The countenance and manner of no christian mother could have manifested more real anguish of spirit in witnessing the dissipation of a beloved son. As we approached, her eyes filled with tears, and with a voice almost inarticulate from emotions ready to overpower her, she lifted her hand, and pointing to the scene of intemperance, exclaimed, 'O shameful! O shameful!' and throwing herself back with a convulsive sob, hid at once her face and her tears."*

Much remaining to be done.

Revelry in the court of Tamehameha II.

The better sentiments inspired by the gospel did not

* Private Journal of the Rev. C. S. Stewart, p. 109.

CHAP. IX. much longer tolerate such disgraceful orgies. In the year 1827, his majesty and chiefs, in a general council, passed certain penal statutes against the crimes of murder, adultery, theft, gambling, drunkenness, and profanation of the Sabbath. Civilisation, too, appears to have kept pace with morality and the advancement of true godliness; a fact which is proved by the state of the population in Woahoo in the year 1829, compared with the manners and comforts of the several classes in 1825, when visited by the commanders of the Blonde and Blossom. In the royal residence especially, which even in the time of Lord Byron was thought elegant and respectable, the difference is described to be almost equal to the improvements which would have taken place in a century in other countries, and greater than that which now exists between the new and the old rooms in Windsor Castle. The floors are covered with beautiful carpets suited to the climate; the large windows at either side of the room, and the folding-doors of glass at each end, are hung with draperies of crimson damask; the furniture consists of handsome pier-tables and large mirrors; and of a line of glass chandeliers suspended along the centre of the ceiling, with lustres and candelabra of bronze affixed to the pillars which line the sides of the apartment. The portraits of the late king and queen, painted in London, are placed at the upper end, in carved frames richly gilt.

Progress of civilization.

Character of Tamehameha III.

In the same space of time, Tamehameha the Third had grown up into a fine stout young man of sixteen, as graceful, well-bred, and perfectly gentleman-like in his whole deportment as any lad of his age in the most polished circles of Europe. "It was gratifying to mark the dignity and propriety of his demeanour; and still more so to learn that his private character was as unexceptionable as his public appearance is manly, and becoming the station he occupies."

Nor was the great improvement here indicated confined to the court; it had extended more or less to all ranks of society. Upon visiting one of the ladies who had

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been converted to the gospel, Mr Stewart remarks, that had he entered the rooms by accident, not knowing to whom they belonged, he would not have thought that he was in the residence of a native, but, from the finish of every part and the elegant furniture, in that of some foreign gentleman. "The sitting-room is delightful; the floor was beautifully carpeted with mats; while in the centre stood a rich couch of yellow damask, with armed chairs placed on either side. A native lounge or divan occupied the whole length of the apartment. A pier-table, covered with a rich cloth, a large mirror, and a portrait completed the furniture on the one hand. On the other, a curtain of handsome chintz, looped up a foot or two at the bottom, partially disclosed the boudoir of Madam Kekuanoa, a principal article of its furniture being an elegant writing-table, with papers and books in the language of the country. From this she appeared to have risen, as we entered the farther door Her dress, manner, and whole deportment in receiving us, were those of a lady. A neatly bound copy of the Gospel of Luke in the Hawaiian version, the first I had seen, was found lying on the sofa, with a blank book in which she had been writing."

A native's house.

This missionary, afterwards chaplain of a ship of war, accompanied his friends on other visits, where every thing was found equally pleasing and interesting. "I know not, says he, "when I have myself been more highly delighted, or more affectingly impressed with the changes which have taken place here, and are still rapidly going on. In a single circle now before me, I beheld five of the highest chiefs in the island—those whom I had myself known as naked, debauched heathen, not only addicted to vice, but glorying in their shame—respectably dressed; demeaning themselves with all the propriety and courteousness of civilized society; modest and decorous in all their actions; pure and intelligent in their conversation; and surrounded in the furniture and accommodations of their dwellings, not merely by the comforts, but also by many of the elegances of an ad-

Demeanour of the chiefs.

CHAP. IX. vanced stage of improvement; and this, most evidently, not for the exhibition of an hour, but in proof of their present ordinary mode of life. In view of the magnitude and extent of the change, I could not but inwardly exclaim, especially as I looked on Kahumanu, who for fifty-three years lived, and became hardened in all the grossness of paganism, a debauchee in private character, a terrific despot in her public rule—surely, 'the eyes of these have been opened, and they turned from darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God.' Scarcely any thing in the contrast, passing in my mind, struck me more forcibly than that connected with the appearance of the children. In place of being utterly unclothed, as would have been the case ten or even five years ago, left entirely to the management of a rude train of attendants, and screaming with terror at the approach or look of any civilized being, we beheld them neatly and elegantly clad, differing from children at home only in their colour, and receiving not only the fondness of their parents and relatives, but courting, by the cleanliness of their persons and every appearance, the caresses of the captain and myself."*

Altered condition of the children.

* A Visit to the South Seas, during the Years 1829 and 1830. By C. S. Stewart, M. A. Edited by William Ellis. Lond. 1832. The captain here alluded to was the commander of the Vincennes frigate, who in a "Retrospective View of the Sandwich Islands," remarks "the very advanced stage of the people in the points involving civilisation, religion, and learning, is so well established, so generally known and admitted, that I forbear to give statements of them equally minute with those I made respecting Nonkahiva, Tahiti, and Raratea. Their civilities, letters of correspondence, and transactions of business with me, place them in a just light, and will enable our government to appreciate and judge them properly without my saying a word in their favour beyond the simple declaration that they are much in advance of the Society Islanders, cheeringly and agreeably enlightened, acquainted limitedly with their own interests, capable of extending them, and sensible of the value of character as a nation. Their indolence of habit, and amiability of disposition, mislead the judgment of persons who deny their pretensions to intelligence and capacity for self-management or government.—It is a most lamentable fact, that the dislike of the missionaries by the foreign residents has a

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It is remarked by one of the American officers, that the king, as he advances in years, will in all probability prove a blessing to his people. This eulogy, it may be presumed, was occasioned by a scene which had recently taken place, the opening of a large meeting-house, built by order of government, and solemnly dedicated to God. According to the report of one of the missionaries, not fewer than four thousand individuals were present, including most of the great personages of the nation. His majesty and the princess also attended. An elegant sofa, covered with satin damask, of a deep crimson colour, had been placed for them in front of the pulpit: the king, in his rich Windsor uniform, sat at one end, and his sister, in a superb dress, at the other. Before the religious services commenced, the young monarch arose from his seat, and, stepping to a platform in front of the pulpit, called the attention of the congregation. Addressing himself to the chiefs, teachers, and people generally, he said that the house which he had built, he now publicly gave to God, the Maker of heaven and earth, to be appropriated to his worship; and declared his wish that his subjects should venerate Jehovah, obey his laws, and learn his word. When the service was

Opening of a church.

Address by the king.

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tendency as yet to paralyse the efforts which the natives are so laudably making to render themselves worthy of the support and confidence of enlightened Christians and distant nations. The constant complaining against the missionaries is irksome in the extreme, and in such contrast with the conduct of the missionaries themselves, that I could not but remark their circumspection and reserve with admiration. The latter never obtruded upon my attention the grounds or causes they might have to complain; nor did they advert to the opposition they had experienced, unless expressly invited thereto by me."

"So great was the friendship and correctness of deportment among the chief islanders that I could scarcely suppose myself to be among a people once, and so recently, heathen. Variance of language and complexion alone reminded me of it. These views may very widely vary from the opinions of those who have preceded me only a year or two; I can well believe that we do not, by means of our intercourse, keep pace with their improvements. Intervals of three years make wonderful changes, and for the better: careful and recorded observations only will assure us of the reality of them."—*Stewart's Visit*, p. 395.

CHAP. IX. over, the king once more rose and said, "let us pray." In this act of devotion, he used the plural number, and gave the house again to God, acknowledged him as his sovereign, yielded his kingdom to him, confessed his own sinfulness, and prayed to be preserved from temptation and delivered from evil. He interceded also for the different classes of his subjects; for the chiefs, teachers, learners, and common people, for the missionaries and foreign residents; and concluded, in a very appropriate manner, by ascribing unto God the kingdom, the power, and the glory for ever.*

General improvement.

Since the period indicated by these details, civilisation has continued to advance, accompanied to a certain extent by an improved knowledge of christian truth. The intercourse with foreigners has made the natives acquainted with luxuries, and thereby created a desire for an extension of trade, which, in the course of time, will necessarily lead to industrious habits. Religion, too, will, at no distant period, become the rule of life and sanction of public law, instead of being, as was perhaps necessary at the commencement, the sole occupation of the converts. From the various missionary records we learn that christian principle, which was originally established by authority rather than on conviction, has not, in all the islands, maintained a uniform or unremitting course. In a communication, dated 1838, from an enlightened teacher to the American Board, some account is given of a "religious awakening" in Mowee, Owhyhee, and Woahoo. In the course of the previous year a spirit of inquiry and increased attention was manifest; meetings began to be very full and solemn; but the impressions, so far as he could judge, were not so deep and positive as he wished to see. There was more wakeful attention than real concern for the soul. Things continued in much the same state, with perhaps a little increase of feeling, till about the 1st of December, when prospects began to brighten. New-

A religious awakening.

* Scottish Missionary Register, vol. xi. p. 474.

year's day seemed to mark the decisive feature of the crisis. Prayer now began to be offered with much fervency, and often with strong crying and tears; and from this time the character of the work was no longer doubtful. "By the 1st of April the whole population round us was under deep excitement; many, perhaps the majority, were not actuated by any real concern for their souls, but were moved because others were; and it is feared they will relapse again into their former state of stupidity. Time only can tell how many have been raised to newness of life. Meetings are well attended; but that deep solemnity and wakeful interest which a few months ago rested on the assemblies, has, to a great degree, passed away."* CHAP IX.

Abatements from the awakening.

The preacher, whose candour and good sense appear to great advantage, states some reasons for ministerial vigilance during such seasons of awakening. 1. The natives are very excitable on any subject; and in the present state of society, especially so on the subject of religion. 2. In a number of instances the fairest appearances are found connected with the indulgence of secret iniquity. This is not uncommon among the natives. 3. The history of excitements in these islands is calculated to produce caution. If they are real converts, they will not be likely to fall away by being looked at a few months, especially if they enjoy constant instruction.

Remarks on revivals.

We should have been glad to take some notice of the actual condition of things, but we regret that our limits are inconsistent with minute details, for which we direct the attention of the reader to the original authorities. We may remark, however, that the Sandwich Islands are not the only scene of those occasional excitements called "revivals," which, while they shake the faith of the unlearned, threaten to undermine the principles of morals, order, decency, and decorum. Even in those countries where the fundamental tenets of christian belief have been long established, and the usages of divine

* Missionary Register, vol. xxi. p. 75.

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worship have ingrafted themselves on the habits of the people at large, it is not uncommon to witness a considerable ebb and flow in the popular mind in regard as well to doctrine as to ceremonies. Such persons as have carefully marked the events of recent years in Great Britain and America, will have no difficulty in recollecting movements in the religious world not less remarkable than those of Owhyhee and Woahoo. In all ages, the theological thermometer has indicated such variations, in the temperature of the great mass of society; but it is pleasant to add that the result, in most cases, has had a beneficial tendency. The "lump" cannot be fully leavened without a considerable degree of fermentation; a process, however, which, if not watched with a vigilant eye, is very apt to exceed the proper limits, and to terminate in a repulsive acidity. Still there is no reason to dread the issue of that working of hope and fear which has recently manifested itself in the hearts of the rude islanders, provided the teachers pursue a steady course, and direct the attention of their converts to that faith which is necessarily followed by virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly-kindness, and charity.

General results of revivals.

CHAPTER X.

New Zealand.

New Zealand discovered by Tasman—Description of its Inhabitants—Cook examines the Coast—Makes a Passage through the Straits which bear his Name—Ungenerous Conduct of Surville—Expedition and Death of M. Marion—Loss sustained by Captain Furneaux—Intercourse between New Zealand and Australia—Tippahee—Moyhanger visits England—Murder of the Crew of the Boyd—Missionaries land at Rangihoua—Two Chiefs appear in London—Are introduced to the Prince Regent—Missionaries increase their Stations—Favour manifested by the Chiefs—Measures proposed for forming a regular Church in New Zealand—Number of Stations—Desire of Improvement among Natives—Original State of European Population—Associations formed for Colonization—New Zealand Company's Establishment at Port Nicholson—Great Immigration—Obstacles opposed by Government—Sovereignty of the Queen proclaimed—Charter granted to the Company.

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The discovery of New Zealand.

The group which passes under the name of New Zealand was discovered by Abel Jansen Tasman, in September 1642. At that period, Anthony Van Diemen was governor of the Dutch possessions in the East Indies, who, being desirous to add to the knowledge of maritime geography, more especially towards the unexplored regions of the South Pole, despatched this celebrated captain in charge of two small vessels, with instructions to ascertain the boundaries of the continent which was supposed to occupy all the antarctic parallels of the Pacific

CHAP. X. Ocean. The first reward of Tasman's exertions was the discovery of an island, which he named, in honour of his patron, Van Diemen's Land.

After examining the coasts with some attention, he proceeded towards the east, and when in latitude 38° 10′ S., and longitude 167° 21′ E., he again saw land about a degree to the south-south-east. It was not, however, till he had attained the northern extremity of it that any

Its inhabitants.

inhabitants appeared, who, sounding a trumpet, probably composed of a shell, attracted his attention to an address which, being uttered in a strange dialect, he could not understand. He describes them as being of common stature and strong boned, their colour between brown and yellow, and their hair black, which they wore tied up on the crown of the head, like the Japanese, each having a large white feather stuck upright in it. Their vessels were double canoes fastened together by cross planks, on which they sat. It is remarked, that their language bore no resemblance to that used in the Solomon Islands, with a vocabulary of which Tasman had been furnished at Batavia. Notwithstanding his earnest desire to secure their good opinion, he could not prevent an attack upon a boat's crew, which occasioned to him the loss of several lives.

Having no hope of being able to establish a friendly intercourse, he left the "Bay of Murderers," and proceeded towards the north; and finding the coast still stretching to a great extent in an eastern direction, he imagined that he had at length discovered the great southern continent,—the Terra Incognita Australis,—which he at first called Staten Land, and afterwards New Zealand.

Visit of Cook.

Of this important country no farther account was taken till the year 1769, when, in the month of October, it was seen by Captain Cook, while engaged in his first circumnavigation of the globe. There is reason to believe, however, from certain communications made by the natives to this distinguished seaman, that some European ship had touched on the coast a short time before his arrival; and as this visit was never reported in Eng-

land, there is but too much reason to apprehend that the crew were massacred by the barbarous inhabitants.*

His difficulties in landing.

As Cook approached New Zealand from the east, he landed on the side opposite to that which had been surveyed by Tasman. At first he had to encounter the usual difficulties; nor was it until the fierce people had failed in an attack upon him and his two friends, Solander and Banks, and had experienced the fatal effects of fire-arms, that he succeeded in establishing a temporary intercourse with them. While employed in search of fresh water, in the interior of the bay, he met one of their fishing canoes returning from the sea, having on board four men and three boys. As soon as they perceived the English boats, they plied their paddles with so much activity, that they would have effected their escape, had not the captain ordered a musket to be fired over their heads, in the hope that this display of power would induce them to surrender. But in this expectation he was unfortunately disappointed; for although, on the discharge of the piece, they laid aside their paddles and began to strip, it was only that they might be prepared to meet their assailants and give them battle. Accordingly, as soon as they reached their enemies, they commenced the attack with their simple weapons; and so obstinate was the resistance made by them, that the encounter did not terminate until the four men were killed. On witnessing this catastrophe, the boys leaped into the water, whence, after considerable opposition, they were taken up and placed in the boat. At first they seemed to have no expectation but of instant death at the hands of their captors. Upon being kindly treated, however, and furnished with clothes, they soon laid aside their apprehensions, and even seemed to forget the fate of their countrymen who perished in the conflict. When

Encounter with the natives.

* In Cruise's Journal, p. 86, it is mentioned that he was told by one of the natives, an old man, of a ship that had been lost on the west coast, at a comparatively recent period. A boat's crew having gone on shore to trade for provisions, were, he said, cut off by the savages. See also The New Zealanders (12mo, Lond. 1830), p. 27.

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dinner was set before them on board the Endeavour, they ate voraciously; and being encouraged by Tupia, a native of Otaheite, they even consented to entertain their captors with a song. Indeed, they would willingly have continued with their new friends, being afraid that, if put ashore by the English, their enemies "would kill and eat them." But the commander, resolved to afford no ground for the suspicion that he meant to kidnap the inhabitants, gave strict orders that the youths should be landed on the nearest point of the coast. He afterwards learned that no injury befell them, though committed to the keeping of a hostile tribe.

His regret at the encounter.

No one could regret more than Cook the melancholy result of the fortuitous meeting with the canoe, as just described. "I am conscious," says he, "that the feeling of every reader of humanity will censure me for having fired upon these unhappy people; and it is impossible that, upon a calm review, I should approve it myself. They certainly did not deserve death for not choosing to confide in my promises, or not consenting to come on board my boat, even if they had apprehended no danger; but the nature of my service required me to obtain a knowledge of their country, which I could not otherwise effect than by forcing my way into it in a hostile manner, or gaining admission through the confidence and good-will of the people. I had already tried the power of presents without effect; and I was now prompted, by my desire to avoid farther hostilities, to get some of them on board, as the only method of convincing them that we intended them no harm, and had it in our power to contribute to their gratification and convenience. Thus far my intentions certainly were not criminal; and though in the contest, which I had not the least reason to expect, our victory might have been complete without so great an expense of life, yet in such situations, when the command to fire has been given, no man can restrain its excess, or prescribe its effect."*

His account of how it happened.

* Hawkesworth's Account of the Voyages of Byron, Wallis, Carteret, and Cook, vol. ii. p. 290. A motive of humanity in-

Cook did not discontinue his researches until he had ascertained that the country is divided into two principal islands by the strait which still bears his name. The northern one is called by the natives Eaheinamauwee, the southern, Tavai Poenamoo; contiguous to which last there is a smaller body of land which has not yet risen into any consequence. The whole are situated between lat. 34° and 47° S., and long. 166° and 180° E. The appearance of the coast is bold and rocky; in some parts the general aspect of the land is rather rugged; and several of the mountains in Poenamoo are covered with perennial snow. In the other island, where the Europeans have established their principal settlements, the soil is in many parts extremely fertile, and capable of a very high degree of cultivation; suited, it is supposed, not only to the growth of wheat and other grain, but also to the more delicate fruits and varied productions of the most genial portions of the temperate zones. The potato has been cultivated with great facility and advantage. Though but lately introduced by foreigners, it furnishes a valuable addition to the means of subsistence enjoyed by the natives, and also an article of sea-store to the numerous ships by which New Zealand is annually visited. Cattle, sheep, and poultry are also reared in abundance, proving at once a source of wealth to the poorer settlers, and an agreeable variety to the tables of the more wealthy. Moreover, the coasts are well stocked with several species of fish, which European skill has taught the inhabitants both to catch more plentifully and to cure with greater success. The climate is

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The coast and soil of New Zealand.

Its animal produce.

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duced Captain Cook to leave that part of the coast. "As soon as we were drawn up on the other side, the Indians came down, not in a body as we expected, but by two or three at a time, all armed, and in a short time their number increased to about two hundred. As we now despaired of making peace with them, seeing that the dread of our small arms did not keep them at a distance, and that the ship was too far off to reach the place with a shot, we resolved to re-embark, lest our stay should embroil us in another quarrel, and cost more of the Indians their lives."—P. 293.

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described as being both pleasant and salubrious. In Eaheinomauwee, the thermometer ranges from 40° to 80°; being a pleasant medium between the heat of the tropical regions and the sudden colds which affect the more variable sky of the temperate latitudes.*

Kind reception of Surville.

While Cook was on the coast of New Zealand, a French ship, commanded by M. de Surville, was struggling with the high seas and boisterous weather which the English navigator has recorded in his usual graphic language. His reception by the natives formed quite a contrast to the spirit which they displayed towards the English. The chiefs bestowed upon the invalids of his crew the greatest attention. Naginoui, the lord of an adjoining village, surrendered his house for their accommodation, supplied them with the best food he could provide, and would not accept the smallest compensation. But this humane conduct was most cruelly requited. Surville having missed one of his small boats, probably lost during the storm, and suspecting that the inhabitants had stolen it, determined to be avenged for this supposed injury. Accordingly, seeing one of the chiefs walking on the shore, he invited him with many professions of friendship to come on board his ship; the other no sooner complied than he found himself a prisoner.

His brutal requital.

Not satisfied with this outrageous treachery, he next gave orders that a village to which he pointed should be set on fire, and it was accordingly burnt to the ground. To aggravate the crime against personal freedom and property, this was found to be the very village in which his sick men had, a few days before, been so kindly received, and the leader whom he had inveigled on board the Saint Jean Baptiste was the generous Naginoui, who had acted towards them the part of the good Samaritan. The unfortunate captive was carried away from his own country by the strangers whom he had assisted, but he

* In an "Account of the Settlements of the New Zealand Company," by the Hon. H. W. Petre (Lond. 1841), the islands are named, beginning at the north, New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster.

did not long survive the separation from his family and the land of his birth; he died of a broken heart, about three months afterwards, near Juan Fernandez, on the passage to Peru. The termination of Surville's own career, which took place a few days later, may be regarded in a retributory light. After a vain cruise of nearly a twelvemonth in search of an imaginary island full of gold and precious stones, he found himself compelled, though his ship was victualled for three years, owing to the ill health of his crew, to return towards the coast of South America. On the 5th April 1770, he arrived at Callao; and, being anxious to obtain an early interview with the viceroy, he put off from his vessel in a small boat and perished in the surf.*

Death of Surville.

The reports that had reached Europe respecting the soil and climate of New Zealand increased the interest taken by the court of France in a country which seemed to hold forth numerous advantages to enterprising settlers. With this view, in October 1771, they despatched two ships, under the command of M. Marion, who received instructions, after attending to some less important objects, to make himself intimately acquainted with the resources of the two islands recently visited by the English navigator. Arriving at Cape Brett on the 3d May the following year, he forthwith established an amicable intercourse with the natives, who readily went on board his vessel, and accepted his civilities in a very good spirit. Encouraged by these symptoms of a friendly disposition towards his people, he landed the sick sailors on one of the numerous islands with which the adjoining bay is studded. Abundance of food was now brought to them by the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages, who, in this respect, were indefatigable in their endeavours to gratify the strangers; while their communication with each other was rendered at once more easy and agreeable

Visit of Marion.

* Regarding this transaction more ample details will be found in Rochon's Voyages aux Indes Orientales, tome iii. p. 388, extracted from the Journal of P. de l'Orme. In this work, the name of the chief is spelled Naginouni.—New Zealanders, p. 39.

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by the discovery that the language spoken in this part of Polynesia was essentially the same with the dialect of Otaheite. So intimate, indeed, did they become, and such was the state of mutual confidence in which they lived, that while the New Zealanders went at all times freely on board the ships, and occasionally remained all night, the Frenchmen, on their part, were wont to move about on shore with the greatest freedom, and even to make excursions into the interior, entering the houses of the people, and sharing their meals. Crozet, the first lieutenant, from whose notes the account of the voyage was compiled, remarks, that he himself was almost the only one of the officers who did not quite forget all precaution.

Massacre of two French parties.

A dreadful crisis was now at hand, the motives that led to which it is impossible to comprehend. On the 12th June, Marion went on shore with a party of sixteen men, including four officers, who, being attacked by the treacherous cannibals, were literally murdered and eaten. Next morning, a boat's crew landed for the purpose of procuring wood and water, and being still free from suspicion, they also allowed themselves to be surrounded by a multitude of the savages, who put to death eleven of the twelve individuals of whom the party consisted. The survivor saw the dead bodies of his companions cut up and divided among the assassins, each of whom carried away the portion he had received. But with the thoughtlessness characteristic of barbarians, they used no means to avert the tremendous retribution to which they had exposed themselves. A powerful body of French were landed from the two ships, who, after ascertaining the horrible fate of their commander, and even collecting some remains of his mangled corpse, seized an opportunity presented by the murderers themselves of inflicting a severe punishment. Repeated volleys of musketry were directed against the miserable rabble, who, stupified with terror, allowed themselves to be slaughtered without any attempt either at resistance or retreat. No light has ever been thrown on the cir-

Retribution for it.

cumstances which led to this shocking catastrophe. Crozet repeats the assurance that his countrymen gave not the islanders any cause of offence whatever during their residence among them, and that down to the fatal day when Marion was put to death, the two parties had lived together in the greatest cordiality, occupied in the reciprocation of kindnesses. If the assault on the foreigners was premeditated on the part of the natives, these last are justly chargeable with a degree of deceit not usually incident to such rude minds; but if we suppose that intelligence relative to the conduct of Surville had reached their shores, their atrocity may be explained, though not in any degree palliated.*

Massacre of an English party.

A similar event took place in the year 1773, when Captain Furneaux, who commanded the Adventure on Cook's second voyage, lay in Ship Cove, waiting the return of the Resolution. In the month of December he sent a boat to the land, under the care of a midshipman, with instructions to gather a few wild greens, and to return in the evening. The crew, which consisted of ten men, were killed and eaten, as on the former occasion. It was not till 1777, when engaged in his last voyage round the world, that the commodore obtained any explanation of this atrocious crime. Having desired Omai to ask the chief, Kahoora, why he had killed Furneaux's people, the savage folded his arms, hung down his head, and appeared to expect instant death. But no sooner did Cook assure him of his safety than he became cheerful. "He did not, however, seem willing to give me an answer to the question that had been put to him, till I had again and again repeated my promise that he should not be hurt. Then he ventured to tell us, 'that one of his countrymen having brought a stone hatchet to barter, the man to whom it was offered took

Explanation of it.

* Crozet, whose narrative is embodied in the volumes of the Abbé Rochon, remarks, that "they treated us with every show of kindness for thirty-three days, in the intention of eating us the thirty-fourth."—Voyage de Marion, p. 121, quoted in The New Zealanders, p. 53.

CHAP X. it, and would neither return it nor give any thing for it; on which the owner of it snatched up the bread as an equivalent, and then the quarrel began."*

Intercourse with Australia.

About the end of last century, some intercourse began to take place between New Zealand and the penal colony established in Australia. Two natives of the former were induced to visit Norfolk Island, where they were kindly treated, and afterwards accompanied home by Governor King, who was exceedingly desirous to become acquainted with their method of cultivating and dressing flax, the most valuable produce of their country. About the same period, ships engaged in whale-fishing in those distant seas found it convenient to land on the coast, and hence an intimacy was gradually formed with the natives, who, though suspicious of the views which led to it, were by no means disposed to resist the approaches of a civilized people. Availing themselves of this opportunity, the authorities at Port Jackson occasionally sent presents of cattle, sheep, pigs, and seeds, with such other things as seemed fitted to add to their comforts, as well as to create among them a taste for the conveniences of cultivated life. At length, a chief named Tippahee, whose dwelling was near the Bay of Islands, expressed a desire to see the English colony.

Tippahee's visit to Port Jackson.

He was accordingly conveyed to Port Jackson, accompanied by five sons; and, during his stay there, he examined with the utmost attention every thing that fell under his observation, manifesting the greatest anxiety to acquire a full knowledge of the various arts and manufactures which he saw carried on by the settlers. He was so much affected by the contrast between their knowledge and the ignorance of his own countrymen, that he burst into tears.

It is not unworthy of notice that, on all occasions, the

* A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, performed under the direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in the Years 1776-1780, vol. i. p. 133. Cook adds, that "the remainder of Kahoora's account of this unhappy affair differed very little from what we had before learned from the rest of his countrymen."

New Zealanders preferred things useful to those which were merely showy or decorative. The first of them who landed in England, whose name was Moyhanger, regarded with much more interest the iron goods and comfortable clothing which he saw in the shops of London, than the brilliant equipages and splendid attire that afterwards met his eyes. It was not without a feeling of dejection that he first beheld the magnitude, bustle, and wealth of the metropolis; remarking, that in his own land he was a man of some consequence, but that in this country his consequence must be entirely lost. While in town he was taken to visit Lord Fitzwilliam. The ornamental parts of the furniture did not make such an impression upon him as was expected. Of the mirrors and other showy works of art, he merely remarked, that they were "very fine;" and while it was thought he was admiring the more striking objects, it was discovered that he was counting the chairs. Having procured a small piece of stick, he had broken it into a number of fragments to assist his recollection; and upon completing the process of enumeration, he said, "a great number of men sit with the chief." It was a mystery to him at first how such an immense population could be fed, as he perceived neither cattle nor crops; but the droves of oxen and wagon-loads of vegetables he afterwards saw coming in from the country satisfied him upon this head.*

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Moyhanger's visit to England.

The favourable opinion which began to be entertained in regard to the people of New Zealand received a material check in the year 1809, when an atrocious murder was perpetrated on the crew of the Boyd, a ship of five hundred tons burden, which, with seventy persons on board, called at the Bay of Wangaroa, to land some natives who had been resident in Australia. Among these last was an individual named Tarra, though he bore among the sailors the more familiar appellation of George, who, having been punished for neglect of duty,

Massacre of the Boyd's crew.

* Savage's Account of New Zealand, p. 94-110.

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resolved to have his revenge when the vessel should come to anchor in the neighbourhood of his tribe. He first attacked the captain and a party of men in the woods, whither they had gone to cut timber, and with the aid of his associates murdered them all. Elated with their success, the infuriated savages next proceeded to the Boyd. It was now dusk, and as they went alongside in the boats belonging to the ship, dressed in the clothes of the seamen whom they had slain, they were hailed by the second officer, who, in reply, was informed by them that the captain, intending to remain on shore all night, had ordered them to take on board the spars which were already cut down. Under this pretext, they were allowed to go on deck, when they instantly commenced an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children, leaving none alive except one female, two children, and the cabin-boy.*

Treachery of the murderers.

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p. [illegible]

the ship City of Edinburgh, says, "we found the wreck of the Boyd in shoal water at the top of the harbour, a most melancholy picture of wanton mischief. The natives had cut her cables, and towed her up the harbour till she had grounded, and then set her on fire and burnt her to the water's edge." Mr Berry's statement differs from that more commonly given as to the proximate cause of the massacre. Tippahee, he observes, who happened to be at Wangaroa, went into the cabin, and after paying his respects to the captain, begged a little bread for his men; but the other received him very slightingly, and desired him to go away, and not trouble him at present, as he was busy. The proud old savage, who had been a constant guest at the governor's table at Port Jackson, being highly offended at this treatment, immediately left the cabin, and after stamping a few minutes on the deck, went into his canoe. But as soon as the captain left the ship, Tippahee, who remained alongside in his canoe, came again on board, soon after which the massacre began. In short, Mr Berry ascribes the catastrophe to the resentment of this chief; whereas other authors trace it, with greater probability, to the vindictive feelings of George, the native sailor. His narrative, however, is extremely interesting.

The account given in the Library of Entertaining Knowledge (New Zealanders) corresponds, we are assured, with that which first appeared in the Sydney Gazette of 1st September 1810,

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The fearful atrocity now described had the effect of reviving the impression, already beginning to subside among navigators, as to the ferocious character of the natives. Vessels, no doubt, continued occasionally to visit the islands, and to engage in the wonted traffic, but confidence had in a great measure ceased, and the hope that they would soon ascend to a respectable place among civilized nations, was not any where cherished with the same ardour. Even the means which had been devised by certain benevolent individuals to accomplish that good end were for a time suspended. The Church Missionary Society, moved by the representations made to them by Mr Marsden, senior chaplain of Australia, had resolved to send some Christian labourers into those islands, to infuse into the minds of the inhabitants the elements of true religion, to wean them from their sanguinary habits, and to teach them the arts of social life, more especially agriculture with its kindred pursuits. The committee in London sent out three individuals, whom they placed under the direction of Mr Marsden; assigning, at the same time, the annual sum of five hundred pounds, to supply them with the means of establishing a mission. But the alarm occasioned by the horrible massacre at Wangaroa deterred them from proceeding farther than Port Jackson; nor was it till the latter end of the year 1814 that they reached the scene of their important enterprise, in the northern island of New Zealand.

Loss of confidence in the natives.

It was at Rangihoua, a native village near the Bay of Islands, that they planted their first station; and notwithstanding a very powerful opposition, as well from false friends as from open enemies, the gospel has never since been entirely driven away from that place. Privations of every kind were to be endured, want of food, want of clothing, and want of society; added to which were the menaces of the barbarians whom they were

Mission station at Rangihoua.

and which has been reprinted in the Journal of Captain Cruise. It was derived originally from the report of a native of Otaheite, who was on the spot at the time.

CHAP. X. endeavouring to instruct, which, on some occasions, were so frightful as must have compelled them to withdraw had they been able fully to comprehend their meaning. Ignorance of the language concealed from them the extent of their danger. It is painful to learn, too, that the worst enemies of the mission at a later period were some of their own household. The number of teachers was increased; "and some, influenced by the spirit of the wicked one, early crept in among the faithful few. So far, indeed, did some of them dishonour the self-denying doctrines of the Cross, which they had been sent here to teach, that no less painful a plan could be adopted than an ignominious erasure of their names from the Society's labourers."*

Hindrances to the mission.

The main obstacle at the commencement was unquestionably the ignorance under which the missionaries laboured of the peculiar dialect in use among the natives, because so delicate are its idioms, that the slightest departure from the wonted arrangement of words in a sentence, might convey either an insult or a ludicrous association of ideas. Nor did the rude audience consider it necessary to conceal their impressions. On the contrary, sometimes in the middle of the service they would suddenly start up, with the cry of "that's a lie! that's a lie! who will stay to hear what that man has to say? Let us all go, all go." But as soon as they were able to converse with the inhabitants, and could in some degree make themselves intelligible, the clouds began to pass away, and light dawned upon their future course.†

Visit of two chiefs to England.

About the period to which we now allude, two chiefs, Hongi and Waikato, paid a visit to England, where they were introduced to the prince regent, who loaded them at once with gifts and civilities. At length, after having seen some of the wonders of art and of cultivated

* An Account of New Zealand, and of the Formation and Progress of the Church Missionary Society's Mission in the Northern Island. By the Rev. William Yate, Missionary (small 8vo, Lond. 1835), p. 168.

† Ibid. p. 169.

mind in various parts of the country, they returned to their own land with a large supply of everything on which the people of New Zealand set the highest value. From this epoch the missionaries rose in the estimation of the natives at large, and enjoyed, more especially, the protection of the two favoured leaders. To the friendship of Hongi, in particular, may be attributed, under God, the safety of their small establishment. On several occasions he threw himself between them and death, prevented attacks upon their property, and, at all hazards to his own interests, he was ever ready to defend theirs.

Their subsequent influence on the natives.

It is remarked by an intelligent author, as a disadvantage in New Zealand, that there is no king over the whole group, nor even over one of the larger islands. The people are governed by a number of chieftains, each indeed a sovereign over his own narrow territory. A desire to enlarge their domains, increase their power, or gratify revenge, leads to frequent wars, strengthens jealousy, keeps them from forming any common bond of union, and precludes the adoption of a general or consistent plan for spreading among them the benefits of civilisation. In the Society and Sandwich clusters, on the other hand, the missionaries found great advantage from the circumstance that each island had its chief, and that, in some instances, several adjacent ones were under the government of a ruler whose authority was supreme, and whose influence predisposed them, as a nation, to receive the instruction imparted by individuals whom he had been pleased at once to countenance and protect.*

Extension of the mission.

Finding the original station at Rangihoua no longer suited to their more extended views, the missionaries purchased or otherwise obtained permission to settle at Tepuna, Kerikeri, Paihia, and finally, at the Waimate,

* Ellis, Polynesian Researches, vol. iii. p. 360. He remarks, notwithstanding, "that to the eye of a missionary, New Zealand is an interesting country, inhabited by a people of no ordinary powers, could they be brought under the influence of right principles."

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whence they had a more easy intercourse with the interior of the island. A narrative of the proceedings at Paihia, from August 1823 to June 1831, which was sent to England by desire of the committee of the Church Missionary Society, presents several interesting details relative to the progress of religious knowledge among the natives in that quarter. Two preachers with their families settled in the wilderness, in the midst of tribes who occupied the land on each side to a considerable distance. A house, composed chiefly of rushes, was soon erected for them, in which they spent the first year, using every means in their power to induce the young people to accept instruction, and become the objects of their kindness. Their habitation was continually beset from daylight till dark by their simple neighbours, who were attracted by the novelty of the things they beheld. A few boys and girls were permitted to live with the missionaries; but a single word from any of the chiefs sent them all off in an instant. Frequently, too, when particularly wanted, they all ran away into the bush, thinking thereby to show to their new countrymen how necessary they were to their proceedings. This conduct continued, in a greater or less degree, about two years; afterwards, the members increased, and their demeanour became much more orderly.

Mission station at Paihia.

Progress of that station.

At the date of the Report, the buildings at Paihia were a chapel, two dwelling-houses, several workshops, and sheds for the cattle. The number of native baptisms was thirty, including ten children, and the behaviour of the converts, generally speaking, was not unworthy of the vocation to which they had listened. The Sunday services were conducted as follows:—At eight in the morning the inhabitants of the vicinity were assembled together with the mission families at the station, and such foreign residents in different parts of the adjoining bay as were disposed to attend. The prayers of the church and one of the lessons were read in the New Zealand language, and the natives were also addressed in the same tongue on their faith and duties. The re-

mainder of the service, with a sermon, was said in English; and, when these were ended, the ministers, accompanied by some of the better instructed among their converts, proceeded to different settlements, within a short distance, where attentive congregations were generally found awaiting their arrival.

Business of the schools.

While they were thus employed, the schools were open for the children of both sexes, who were catechised by the missionaries' wives, aided by baptized youths, selected for this office on account of their piety and acquirements. At three o'clock, divine service, exclusively in English, was performed; and at six the evening prayers were offered up in the dialect of the islands. The attention shown on these occasions by the indigenous inhabitants was an abundant encouragement to the prosecution of the great work; and many of them, from time to time, were added to the church.*

The missions as yet were mere outposts.

But hitherto the stations may be said to have reference to the convenience of the Europeans occasionally resident near the Bay of Islands, rather than to the direct improvement of the general population. The missionaries had been hovering, as it were, on the skirts of the country; and with all the efforts made by them no permanent footing was yet established beyond these outposts. They had been watching the workings of the native mind, and looking for the openings of Providence to indicate the path which they ought to pursue. Still

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 176, where the "account of operations" is quoted from the records of the Church Missionary Society. It is added, that "a large addition has of late been made by purchase to the Society's land on either side of the settlement, by which a good supply of timber for fuel has been secured. The land is generally barren, consisting for the most part of hills; the patches of low ground are available for cultivation, and afford also pasturage for the cattle. During the year, fourteen hundred bushels of potatoes have been raised towards the maintenance of the schools." "Imperfect," says the Report, "as is the sketch of this station which has thus been traced, it contains enough to show that the missionaries have abundant reason to view the past and the present with thankfulness, and the future with hope."

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they felt assured that no great work would be accomplished till they could form a regular establishment in the interior of the country, in a more populous and improved district than they had yet been permitted to occupy. The principal persons had refused, during nearly fifteen years, to allow any one to reside near their larger villages in the cultivated portion of the island; and had always rejected the proposals, from time to time made to them, for the furtherance of the gospel in the vicinity where they themselves resided. But towards the close of 1829 a great change became manifest in their opinions on this important subject, and the most pressing invitations were now given by individuals, who, a short time before, would not listen to any terms of negotiation. Experience had convinced the New Zealand chiefs that the objects of the missionaries were truly benevolent; pointing not only to the eternal welfare of the ignorant people, but also to their temporal comfort through the medium of letters and a knowledge of the useful arts. Yielding to the solicitations repeatedly addressed to them, the local committee resolved to select a place on the Waimate, which should at the same time possess the advantage of proximity to the greatest number of natives, and a portion of good ground for the purposes of agriculture. A spot was marked out, presenting in a high degree both these recommendations. The people expressed their willingness to part with it, and the land was forthwith conveyed in proper form to the agents of the Society.*

Missions to the interior.

Mission station on the Waimate.

The improvement which usually attends the progress of Christianity soon became apparent at this new station. To all the native residences in connexion with the district, stretching about thirty-five miles to the south-west,

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 190. "The parent committee," says the author, "have ever recommended the growth of wheat for our own subsistence, and have lent most substantial aid in furthering so very desirable an object. They thought, and justly too, that if the natives saw somewhat of the blessings of civilisation, and the effects of industry, they would themselves become both civilized and industrious."—P. 189.

roads were immediately cut by the people, to facilitate the visits of the missionaries. The villages are very numerous, and the inhabitants scattered over an extensive tract of country; but in all places, where the population was so large as to require them, chapels were erected on the native plan, and dedicated to the service of the Redeemer. Some of these structures were spacious enough to contain two hundred persons; and the service of the English church was regularly performed whenever the weather did not prevent the necessary travelling. At every station schools were opened, under the sanction of the chiefs, for all ages and classes of the people. CHAP. X.

Waimate could soon boast of an infant seminary, where the children were at once taught to read, and to acquire habits of industry. A school for youths was established, in which the usual lessons are given from six till eight in summer, and from seven till nine during the winter months. The remaining portion of the day is devoted to the work of the settlement, all of which is done by natives, under the superintendence of the lay members of the mission; for, excepting a millwright to erect a mill, and a blacksmith to prepare the iron implements, no European has been employed in manual labour. Upwards of fifty thousand bricks were burnt, most of which were used in building chimneys; while more than seven hundred thousand feet of timber were felled and sawn up into planks, boards, and scantlings. "Three substantial weather-board dwelling-houses, forty feet by twenty, with skilling at the back and returned at the ends, have been erected; likewise stables for the accommodation of twelve or fourteen horses, stores, carpenters' shops, blacksmiths' shops, outhouses, eight or ten weather-board cottages, twenty feet by fifteen; and a spacious chapel, capable of holding from three to four hundred persons. The mission-houses are fenced in with paling, and surrounded by more than thirty acres of cultivated land."*

Schools at that station.

The mission premises there.

Such, we are told, was the state of Waimate early in

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 197.

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Agricultural operations.

1834, the commencement of its fourth year. The whole of the ground within the fences was broken up, part of it laid down with clover and part with grass. Other portions were appropriated to orchards, well stocked with fruit-trees, or to vegetable gardens, as well for the use of the missionaries as for the families of the married natives. In the more open land, or what might be properly called the farm, there were nearly fifty acres sown with wheat, barley, oats, maize, and lucerne. Justly is it remarked by Mr Yate, that a prospect more pleasing could not meet the eye of a philanthropist than the sight of the British plough breaking up the deserts of New Zealand, under the direction of indigenous labourers. The introduction of ploughs and harrows, all of which were made at Waimate, did, without doubt, constitute a momentous era in the history of that country. Till these implements were brought into use, the people little knew what their land was capable of producing, as only small portions had been brought into cultivation, owing to the great difficulty of working it with the hoe and the spade.*

Introduction of ploughs and harrows.

Similar advantages followed the introduction of the gospel in other respects, the sanctifying and enlightening

* Yate, p. 198. The author adds, that besides making carts, wagons, drays, ploughs, harrows, the natives had dug three wells upwards of fifty feet deep; erected a dam, and cut out a race for the mill; and that the whole was accomplished by forty youths and forty adults, who had never before been accustomed to labour. But of all the triumphs of civilisation, there is nothing so gratifying as the progress of the people in letters and religious principle. They have aided in the translation of the liturgy into their own language, and, accordingly, can worship God in the public assembly, in a form of words used by the most enlightened nation in the world. "The church at this time," says he, "is crowded to excess by an attentive and devout congregation; and I have seen hundreds pressing for admittance, for whom room could not be obtained. How many happy Sabbaths have I spent at the Waimate! and how my inmost soul rejoiced as I have seen the once-deluded people of this land listening with delight to the sound of the church-going bell, and hastening with willing feet to the house of the Lord. There is something peculiarly pleasing in the sound of the bell amidst the wilds of New Zealand."

power of which is not diminished in these latter days. Effects hardly less astonishing than those which marked its progress in the days of the apostles have manifested themselves among the heathen of New Zealand; turning their hearts from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to the service of the living God. Next to the blessings of a more spiritual nature may be stated the thirst for knowledge which has been very generally excited; some professing the utmost readiness to contribute part of their slender income towards the purchase of books, slates, and other school-materials. The inhabitants, we are assured, are an inquiring people, and the knowledge thus obtained is communicated from one district to another; sometimes it is conveyed to tribes at a great distance, who were thought to be in total ignorance. Persons who were made prisoners of war, and reduced to slavery at the Bay of Islands, have been educated in the mission-schools; and these, after procuring their freedom by favour or purchase, have carried with them among their relations the little stock of information they had acquired, and even commenced the work of instruction. This step once taken, the result has, in most cases, proved very gratifying. Their rude neighbours listened with wonder to all the strange things which they had to tell, and hence became more inclined to receive from their lips the elements of the pure faith which had also been revealed by the white men. When they found that the returned captives had at the same time learned the arts of the blacksmith, carpenter, and brickmaker, and could thereby render essential aid in building houses, and in otherwise adding to their comforts, they lent a more respectful ear to their spiritual admonitions, as coming from a source which, on other accounts, they were disposed to venerate.

Thirst for knowledge.

Returned captives

In such circumstances it is scarcely necessary to add that the domestic character is much improved. Children are now more carefully brought up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. Polygamy is almost every where abolished, and the inhuman practices which so

CHAP. X

deeply disgraced the land, are generally suppressed. It was customary, at no distant period, for the relations of a departed chief to kill a number of slaves, male and female, as a satisfaction to his ghost, and in order that they might do him service in the world of spirits. Fears were entertained that at the death of Hongi, their most distinguished leader, many victims would be immolated to their cruel superstition; but so complete a change has taken place in the feelings and principles of the natives, that not one of his retainers was demanded by the priests.

Progress of civilization.

Nothing can be more agreeable to those who are interested in the welfare of a people still in the earliest stage of civilisation, than to be informed that their wandering, thievish propensities are gradually giving way to more settled, honest, and industrious habits. They are now inclined to build better habitations for their households, and to connect the enjoyment of comfort with the idea of home. A deserted village is now rarely observed. Every where the men are seen cultivating the ground or improving their dwellings, while the women are employed in some way calculated to be beneficial to themselves or their families. Religion has taught them to extend their interests into the future; to reflect on the past, and to anticipate events for which they now labour to prepare the way; in a word, to discharge the functions of reason with reference to their own well-being in this world and the next. The rulers of these little nations already perceive the benefits of knowledge, and more especially of the arts. "What are these missionaries come to dwell with us for?" asked one of them when contemplating the important changes which were taking place under their auspices. Answering himself, he said, "they are come to break our clubs and establish peace." Again, following up his own idea, he subjoined, "they are come to break our clubs in two—to blunt the points of our spears—to draw the bullets from our muskets—and to make this tribe and that tribe love one another, and sit down as brothers and friends."*

Acknowledged tendency of missionary labour.

* Yate's New Zealand, p. 206.

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The advantages of religious knowledge having become so manifest, new stations were established in various places, in particular, at Kaitai and Puriri, on the Thames, both fertile and very improvable districts. The former is placed in a beautiful valley, situated nearly at an equal distance from the eastern and western coasts; the island at this point being so narrow, that the roaring of the surf on both beaches can be distinctly heard. In connexion with this settlement, there are many natives who can be regularly visited; and they themselves have cut roads in order to facilitate their intercourse with the missionaries, whose instructions they highly value. In regard to the other, it is mentioned that the banks of the Thames are remarkably fruitful. Thousands of acres of the finest flax flourish there undisturbed; and nothing but machinery is wanted to render this production extremely valuable. Farther up are found large fields of potatoes and corn, the result of European cultivation, interspersed with native villages, where the rural labourers reside.

Mission stations on the Thames.

Preparatory to the founding of these infant churches in the northern island, two of the brethren travelled over a large extent of country, visiting all the harbours on the western coast as far southward as Albatross. They found that all of them except Manukau were greatly obstructed at the entrance by dangerous bars, on which the sea almost constantly breaks, while the depth of water was too scanty to admit ships of any considerable burden. They crossed many large rivers, which seemed to pass through fertile lands, inhabited by a numerous population, and composing part of the district called Waikato. Here, as in other sections of the island, where the natives do not live in fortifications for security, they are found to reside in villages at the distance of a few miles one from the other. Their cultivated spots are still more scattered, upon the principle every where adopted, that should they be attacked by what they call a stripping party, only one portion of their food may be carried away, and that they may still have something to depend upon, after their enemies have removed every thing that they appeared to possess.

Exploratory tour.

CHAP. X.

"We are now," says Mr Yate, "become pretty well acquainted with the number of inhabitants in all parts of the country, from the North Cape as far south as Table Cape; and the time is not far distant when we may hope to extend our researches as far as Entry Island, in Cook's Straits; and shall thus soon know the whole of the northern island of New Zealand, in the length and in the breadth thereof. Every effort is now made to discover, and to bring into service, the resources of the country itself, that we may be enabled to form new and distinct stations, without incurring much additional expense. By this method also the natives themselves will be materially benefited, as the work will be accomplished principally by their agency; and they will see that their land affords them many necessaries, as well as some other articles of luxury, with which they now supply themselves from other nations, at a very large expense of labour or of property,—labour which might be much better applied, and property which might be turned to far better account."*

Mode of extending the missions.

The most satisfactory account of the New Zealand mission, and of the fruits produced by their labours, is found in a narrative which was addressed to the directors by the Bishop of Australia, who visited the colony in the year 1839. At every station which he personally inspected, the converts were so numerous as to bear a considerable proportion to the entire population. He states, that in most of the native villages where the missionaries have obtained a footing, there is a building, containing one room, superior in fabric and dimensions to the ordinary dwellings, which appears to be set apart as their place of assembling for religious worship, or to read the Scriptures, or to receive the exhortations of their spiritual teachers. In these edifices generally, but sometimes in the open air, the christian classes were assembled be-

General results of the missions.

* Page 269. In the Appendix to his little volume, the author has annexed a variety of letters which he had induced the natives to write to him on religious subjects. Some of these are very interesting as the first efforts of untutored minds.

fore him. The grayhaired man and the aged woman took their places to read, and to undergo examination, among their descendants of the second and third generations. The chief and slave stood side by side with the holy volume in their hands, and exerted their endeavours each to surpass the other in returning proper answers to the questions put to them concerning what they had been reading. These assemblages he encouraged on all occasions, not only from the pleasure which the exhibition itself afforded, but because he was thereby enabled in the most certain and satisfactory way to probe the extent of their acquirements and improvement. The experience thus obtained induced him to apply the term "converts" to those alone who, in the apparent sincerity of their convictions, and in the extent of their information compared with their limited opportunities, might be considered Christians indeed.*

Examination by the Bishop of Australia.

As the missionaries employed in those islands were, generally speaking, members of the English establishment, the committee in London had opened a communication with the bishop just mentioned, in order to establish, through his instrumentality, "such an exercise of the episcopal functions as the nature of the case would admit." It was in some degree in consequence of this application that he proceeded thither, hoping, as he expresses it, "to set in order the things which are wanting, and to confirm the native converts in their adherence to the doctrines of that church whose teaching first conveyed to them the glad tidings of redemption." The directors did not lose sight of that important object: on the contrary, they expressed a unanimous concurrence in the opinion which he conveyed to them, after his professional visitation to New Zealand, that "the Church of England requires to be planted there in the full

Ulterior object of the bishop's visit.

* Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, 1840, p. 85. According to this Report, the mission consists of 8 missionaries, 1 surgeon, 1 farmer, 1 superintendent of press, 1 printer, 17 catechists, 3 artisans and other assistants, 2 female teachers, and 43 native teachers.

CHAP. X. integrity of its system." It is probably known to most of our readers that the desire here expressed was cheerfully met on the part of the government, who in the year 1841, sanctioned the appointment of a bishop to New Zealand, then formally recognised as a colony under the protection of the crown.

Statistics of the mission. The stations, which bear some reference to the fourteen districts into which the northern island may be divided, amounted in 1841 to nearly the same number. The extent of the several congregations at that time may be estimated from the following statement, supplied by one of the ministers in a communication to the board in this country:—

Kaitaia, in which chapels are erected at every principal point, averaged...	1020
Bay of Islands, including Wangaroa...	1940
Thames, comprehending both sides of the firth,	700
Tauranga, with Matamâta and Maungatautari,	1000
Rotorua, including the central parts of Taupo,	1400
Bay of Plenty, Opotiki, Toure, and Motu,	500
East Cape,...	1200
Poverty Bay, including Hauna,	1000
Wairoa, partially visited, had no return.	
Entry Island, under the instruction of native teachers.	
Waikato, divided by churchmen and Wesleyans.	
Taranake, Hokianga, and Kapiti, not returned.	

The summary of the mission is given as follows:—

Stations,		12
Communicants,		233
Attendants on public worship,		8760
Schools,		72
Scholars, viz. Boys,	163	
Girls,	159	
Sexes not distinguished,	1245	
Youths and adults,	229	
		1796

Character of the converts. It is not maintained by the missionaries that all who rank as Christians are either sincere or well-informed. Mr King, one of their number, remarks, that "many of those who make a profession of the gospel relapse for a time, and then come forward again; so that they do not give satisfactory evidence of their sincerity, and thereby

perplex our minds. The number of natives under christian instruction, and favoured with the means of grace, is very large; but the number of those only who are, in my opinion, decidedly christian, is very small." Nevertheless, no one can view the past and the probable future without claiming that tribute of respect to the missionary body which, by persons who have, on the spot, paid a candid attention to the subject, has never been withheld from them. It ought not to be forgotten, that to their self-denying and persevering exertions it is owing that New Zealand has become what it now is. To them are due the introduction of agriculture and gardening, the use of the spade, the plough, and the mill; they carried thither cattle, sheep, and horses; they have built houses and chapels; they have cut roads through forests, and constructed bridges over rivers; they have, in a word, been the honoured instruments of rendering that important country safe to emigrants and settlers.*

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Respect due to the missionaries.

Ever since Europeans set their foot on the shores of New Zealand, the natives have been animated with an eager desire to make themselves acquainted with the great secret of civilisation. With this view they occasionally resorted to the British colony of Australia, served on board our merchant ships, and assisted in the operations of whale-fishing. Their country, in return, became the asylum of many individuals who could boast of no other. Down to the year 1839 the European population in the northern island consisted of the very refuse of society; of convicts who had escaped from the penal settlements; of runaway sailors; of needy adventurers, whose improvident habits and bad characters had expelled them from all intercourse with those who respect the decencies of life; and of a few enterprising persons who had atoned for their offences by enduring the regulated period of bondage.†

European population of New-Zealand

* Fortieth Report of Church Missionary Society, p. 96.

† New Zealand in 1839: or Four Letters to the Right Hon. Earl Durham, Governor of the New Zealand Land Company,

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So early as 1825 an attempt was made to colonize New Zealand by a Company formed in London, who proceeded in their design so far as to purchase some ground and send thither two ships with suitable cargoes. But this undertaking, impeded by many unforeseen difficulties, was soon abandoned. Nothing more was done till the year 1836, when an association was formed, at the suggestion of some members of the House of Commons, whose main object was the improvement of the islands. This body consisted of two classes; first, heads of families, who intended to establish themselves in the proposed settlement; and, secondly, public men, who, on their own responsibility, were willing to undertake the difficult task of carrying the measure into operation. But neither was this project crowned with success. The ministry being decidedly opposed to it, a bill brought into Parliament for the purpose of forming "a provisional government of British settlements of New Zealand" was thrown out. Such exertions, however, could not be made without some advantage. A committee of the Lords was named, who collected a great mass of valuable evidence, which at once enlightened the path and confirmed the hopes of future adventurers.*

Projects of Colonization.

The original association was indeed dissolved; but some of the same individuals soon afterwards formed another with an adequate capital, and, early in the year 1839, they became possessed by purchase or negotiation of large tracts in the northern island, called by the natives Eaheinamauwee. The New Zealand Company began their operations by an announcement to the public, that their "attention and business will be confined to the purchase of tracts of land, the promotion of emigration to those tracts directly from the United Kingdom, the laying out of settlements and towns in the

The New Zealand Company.

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on the Colonization of that Island, and on the Present Condition and Prospects of the Native Inhabitants. By John Dunmore Lang, D. D. (Lond. 1839), p. 7.

* Report: Present State of the Islands of New Zealand. Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 8th August 1838.

most favourable situations, and the gradual resale of such lands according to the value bestowed upon them by emigration and settlement." In May, their first ship sailed, under the direction of the Company's chief agent, who was instructed to pay particular regard to the mode of dealing with the natives, in the purchase of land, to the acquisition of general information respecting the country, and to preparations for the establishment of settlements. From the outset, a strong preference was manifested for Cook's Straits, as being in the main track between Great Britain and her Polynesian colonies. The directors accordingly secured the whole of the territory on both sides of the Straits, including Port Nicholson, said to be one of the finest harbours in the world; and there the principal colony was successfully formed, and in 1841 contained upwards of four thousand inhabitants. Nor have the interests of the natives been in any degree overlooked. There is reserved to them one-tenth of the whole lands purchased; an inheritance which, in a little while, will become of greater value to their families, and the source of more extended comfort, than if they had retained possession of the whole district in its wild state.

Sailing of their first ship.

The views of the Company touching the aborigines were for some time fully realized in the colony, not merely by their own officers, but by the settlers at large. In particular, their agent, Colonel Wakefield, all along acted on the most liberal and conciliating principles. By his equity and good temper, qualities to which the natives were not blind, he soon succeeded in gaining their confidence; and, accordingly, when the first body of emigrants arrived, they found a predisposition to receive them with friendship, and to perform for them such services as they immediately required. In constructing the basis of this colony, the Company assigned eleven hundred acres for the town called Wellington, and one hundred and ten thousand acres to form the rural sections of one hundred acres each. These lands were divided into eleven hundred sections, each

Reception of the emigrants.

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comprehending one hundred rural acres and one town acre. Deducting the land reserved for the aborigines, the remainder was offered for sale at one pound the acre, or a hundred and one pounds for each section. On paying this sum, the purchaser received a land-order on the Company's local officer, entitling the holder to select his section according to priority of choice, determined by lot. The amount realized in the course of a few weeks was £99,990, after deducting the native reserves. Of this sum, seventy-five per cent., or £74,992, 10s., was set apart to form the emigration-fund : that is, to supply means for defraying the expense of conveying settlers to the colony, and thereby to increase the value of the lands already sold. By the conditions of sale, indeed, the buyers of land-orders were entitled to 75 per cent. of their purchase-money, either in the shape of free passages for themselves and families, or for their servants and labourers; and where no claim was made, the benefit was equally conferred on the landowner, as the whole of the emigration-fund would be devoted to the conveyance of useful hands to the colony.*

The settlement of Wellington.

It was in the month of July that the land-fund was formed, and before the close of the year between eleven and twelve hundred persons were conveyed to the colony. Of these the great majority were labourers, well fitted by their age and physical qualities to realize the purpose of their mission; being for the most part in the prime of life, in full health, and of approved moral character. Among the wealthier classes were some of birth, education, and refinement, who, carrying out with them the seeds of civilisation, hoped soon to extend the happy fruits of it over the whole land which they had adopted for their home.

Character of the settlers.

At this stage the government, who had hitherto felt themselves impeded by difficulties arising from the pecu-

* Encyclopædia Britannica, article New Zealand. Information relative to New Zealand, compiled for the use of Colonists, by John Ward, Esq., Secretary to the New Zealand Company. Lond. 1841.

liar condition of New Zealand, resolved to take steps for erecting a part of it into a British colony. Captain Hobson was instructed to proceed thither in quality of consul, to treat with the chiefs for the cession of part of their territory to the crown of England; it being understood that the islands were to be held as free and independent until the transference now contemplated should be accomplished. This step, as it implied the relinquishment of all claim on the ground of discovery and occupation, was attended with the inconvenience of throwing open the country to all European powers who might think proper to form colonies in it. France, immediately availing herself of the privilege thus tacitly granted, sent out sixty settlers in a regular transport, who were only twenty days too late to take possession of the southern island in the name of Louis Philippe. Captain Hobson, probably aware of this expedition, had in the mean time proclaimed the queen's sovereignty over the whole group, including the smaller islands on the coast.

Measures for erecting a government colony.

But ministers seem not to have been prepared for so decided a measure on the part of their agent. On the 18th March 1841, there was laid on the table of the House of Commons the "Correspondence with the Secretary of State relative to New Zealand;" when, after some discussion, a memorandum was recorded, in which the pretensions made in behalf of her majesty to the sovereignty of New Zealand were repelled, and that country declared to be a substantive and independent state. Soon afterwards a public meeting was held in the city of London, when a petition to the queen and the two houses of parliament was numerously signed, praying that the subject might be taken into immediate consideration, and "these valuable islands preserved to the British dominions." The cabinet now saw the propriety of no longer opposing the wishes of the public, or of subjecting the emigrants to the disadvantage of being surrounded by foreign settlers, who, besides proving rivals in trade, might rouse the jealousy of the natives against the local government. Towards the end of October, the Company were enabled

Obstructions to these measures

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Establishment of the colony.

to announce that the differences which had existed between Government and themselves were finally adjusted. It was made known, at the same time, that New Zealand was no longer to be a dependency of New South Wales, as originally stipulated, but was thenceforth to be held as a separate and independent colony. A charter was granted to the Company, on certain equitable conditions, and the process of settlement then began to be conducted with great success.*

* Encyclopædia Britannica, article New Zealand. At the end of 1840, the white population of New Zealand, being chiefly emigrants from this country, was as follows :—

Wellington and Port Nicholson, ...	3177
Other parts of New Zealand...	2350
	5527

CHAPTER XI.

Recent History and Present Condition of South-Eastern Polynesia.

Geographical Division of Polynesia by the Equator, and the Prime Meridian—Juan Fernandez and other Islands inhabited by European Solitaries—The United States Exploring Expedition—Dog Island, Wytoohu, Raraka, Anaa, and other Islands of the Low Archipelago—The Austral Islands—The Customs of the Marquesans—Adventures of Dr. Coulter and Herman Melville—Protestant and Roman Catholic Missions in the Marquesas—Seizure of the Marquesas by the French—Progress of Religion in Tahiti—Infractions of the Independence of Tahiti by the French—Proceedings for Erecting a French Protectorate in Tahiti—War between the French and the Tahitians—Consequent state of Morals and Religion in Tahiti—Queen Pomare's acceptance of the Protectorate—Condition of Eimeo—Condition of the Society Islands—Invasions of these Islands by the French—Progress of Civilization and Religion in the Hervey Islands—Savage state of Penrhyn Island—Evangelization of Manaika—Duke of York's Island—Discovery of Bowditch Island—Condition of the Navigator's Islands—Revival in Tutuilo and Upolu—Intestine Wars in the Navigator's Islands—Popery in Savai and Upolu—The Tonga Islands—King George of Vavaoo's Code of Laws, and his exertions in favour of the Wesleyan Missionaries—Proceedings of the French, and Progress of Protestant Missions on the Tonga Islands—Popery and Wesleyanism on Wallis' Island.

A SKETCH of the recent history and present condition of Polynesia, of such length as to be in keeping with the previous parts of this volume, may be conveniently distributed into three chapters on respectively the south-eastern, the south-western, and the northern sections of the region. The section lying south of the equator, and east of the prime meridian, we shall call South-eastern Polynesia, and

CHAP. XI. — Threefold division of Polynesia.

CHAP. XI. shall make the subject of the present chapter. Were it reckoned in its relation to England, it might be called South-western Polynesia, for it lies in what English geographers term the western hemisphere or the western longitudes; but we reckon it simply in its relation to the rest of Polynesia, and therefore call it south-eastern. And, in the same way, the section lying south of the equator, and west of the prime meridian, we shall, in the following chapter, call South-western Polynesia; and the section lying north of the equator we shall, in the thirteenth chapter, call Northern Polynesia. The only inconvenience is, that the Feejee group lies across the meridional line, and the Kingsmill group lies across the equatorial line; but the former is mostly on the west side, and may be assigned to the south-western section; and the latter is mostly on the north side, and may be assigned to the northern section.

Threefold division of Polynesia.

One of the most remarkable of the many small lonely islands on the eastern skirts of South-eastern Polynesia is Juan Fernandez—the residence of the world-wide famous Robinson Crusoe. It is about eighteen miles long, and seven miles broad, and comprises many little hills and valleys, clothed with luxuriant vegetation, and watered with limpid brooks. One valley in it at the head of a bay is full of rose-bushes and of vast beds of mint, so tall, that a man might hide in them from a hot pursuit, and this is screened all round with wooded heights. The island is well stocked with dogs, goats, and bullocks—all imports into it since the time of Crusoe, and all so wild, that when disturbed, they dash through the thickets like deer; and its shores have an abundant supply of rich rock-cod and of other fish, and are largely frequented by seals. The government of Chili attempted not very long ago to make it a penal settlement; but the convicts, when about a thousand strong, rose against the soldiers in charge of them, seized their arms, and compelled two vessels which were then in the anchorage to carry them to the mainland. And after the island lay some time untenanted, an enter-

Juan Fernandez.

prising American took a lease of it, and conveyed to it a small colony of Tahitians, with the view of selling its produce to the crews of passing ships. CHAP. XI.

Many other small lonely fertile islands of the parts of South-eastern Polynesia most visited by merchant-ships and South-Sea whalers, are the abode of European solitaries, and the scene of romantic independence and sequestered industry. Dr. Coulter, who sailed from England in the ship Stratford in the autumn of 1832, and who had a long cruise and some stirring adventures in the Pacific, says, "There is scarcely an uninhabited island in these seas, in the thoroughfare of shipping, on which there is a fertile spot of earth with a supply of water that has not its Robinson Crusoe on it. There is an inducement to live on such islands, and that is the sale of their produce to seamen, who are very glad to get a supply of fresh vegetables, and even give cash for it. Then, again, the great feeling of ease of mind and independence; no one to control a man, no one to demand anything of him. The only real annoyance those isolated men meet with is the occasional runaway sailor, who hides in the bush until the ship sails, and then asks shelter from the monarch of the island, and perhaps afterwards ill-treats or otherwise annoys him."

European solitaries.

An instance is mentioned by Dr. Coulter of an Irishman who was put ashore on Charles' Island for bad conduct, and who lived there some years in roving solitude, and was at last killed in an attempt to carry off a wife for himself from Guyaquil. Another instance, on the same island, at a later period, was that of a well-behaved Swede, who, all alone for a long time, raised crops, reared goats, and caught turtles, and sold them to passing seafarers, and was at length robbed of all his hard-earned property by a band of heartless invaders. And Dr. Coulter himself once went a-roving for a week or two as a solitary fisher and hunter on Chatham Island, and was obliged to rove longer than he wished, in consequence of his ship breaking away from

An Irish solitary and a Swedish one.

CHAP. XI. her moorings; and he then discovered relics of a solitary who had long before lived and died unnoticed and unknown.

Relics of a dead solitary.

He says, "At about four miles inland, I came suddenly on a space of ground which was partially clear, and where a few trees lay that had evidently a few years ago been cut down by some one. On further entering this space, there were mustard, pumpkins, melons, Indian corn, sweet potatoes, and tobacco, all growing indiscriminately, and in a very wild state, tall weeds, and suckers of young trees, starting up here and there from the roots of the old ones. In looking about, I saw what was once a spade, but the blade of which was now only rust, and fell in pieces when I touched it with my foot. Near this, in a hollow, was a well with water enough, but overgrown and covered with weeds. It was regularly built round with stone. I continued my search over this once well-cared-for plantation, until I came to the highest or upper part of the clearing, which was walled along for several hundred yards by solid rock. Up near this, almost concealed by a clump of trees, and nearly overgrown with wild vine, I discovered a house, or rather hut, on a comfortable scale. There was no sound of human voice here—all was still. I knew, from the indications about, that it was long since the place had been attended to. The net-work of vines round it was so thick and close, that I had to make an opening through it with my axe. On entering this wild barrier, I came at once on the house, which was built against the rock, with a shed-roof thatched; the sides and front merely posts of wood, interlaced by vine branches, and covered over with mud. The whole was in a falling state; there was only a doorway in it, but no door. I now, with strange feelings, entered the door; there was ample light through this ruin to see all. It was a melancholy sight and discovery to me. In the centre of the floor, near a rude table, lay the skeleton of a man, only partially concealed by what had once been a covering of skins. On my touching it, it fell

His house.

into powder; the bones, though in apposition, were separated by the slightest touch. On one side were an old boiling pot and frying-pan, wood, axe, &c., all in rust, a tobacco-box, with a rudely-manufactured pipe, on the table, an old worn-out and rust-eaten carabine and cutlass in the corner. There was a shelf which had once served for a bed, with seal-skins on it. I searched minutely, but could not find either paper or any other thing that could give the least information as to the name, or who this unfortunate recluse was. It was a dismal scene. I came out and gazed on this hut for some time; a thought struck me, and I proceeded to execute it. All was a ruin, and now falling; the only thing I could now do for this remnant of humanity was to bury it; the only way I could even do that was to cover it with the ruins. A few blows of a heavy stone against the posts laid all prostrate, and shut out the sight for ever. Whilst in those seas I made many inquiries from captains and others frequenting those islands, about this solitary man, but no one knew or had heard anything about him. He must have been dead for many years, from the state of the skeleton, the hut, and long-neglected plantations. I left the grounds without touching anything, with a heavy heart, and could not eat a bit until I was miles away from it."

No traces of his name.

A squadron of six vessels, fitted out by the government of the United States of America, for the purposes of survey and exploration, spent most of the years 1839–1842 in Polynesia, and made vast additions to our knowledge of its geography. The first group which they visited was the Low Archipelago, and one of the islands there, which they minutely surveyed, and which bears the name of Hennoke, or Dog Island, was an uninhabited one, which had been visited in 1616 by Van Schouten and Le Maire, and had seemed to these navigators little else than a large half-sunken rock. It now was all well above highwater mark, and looked at a little distance to be clothed with verdure; and though, on a close view, possessing no other

United States Exploring Expedition.

CHAP. XI.

herbage than a few patches of wiry grass, and no other soil than rugged coral debris, and a little sand and vegetable earth, was tufted with trees, and teeming with animal life. The number of birds on it was incredible, particularly frigate birds, gannets, sooty terns, and the beautiful tropic birds, and so tame, that the visitors required to push them off their nests in order to get at their eggs. Spiders and beetles were so abundant, that their very webs and exuviæ proved not a little annoying. Armies of soldier-crabs were marching about in all directions with their shells. Molluscs, snakes, great eels, and many coloured fish, variously crowded land and water. Crabs walked off with snakes, strong birds pounced upon both, and ravenous sharks, both in the lagoon of the island and in the sea outside, bit fiercely at the oars.

The animals of Dog Island.

The squadron next visited Wytoohu, one of the two Disappointment Islands, situated at the northern extremity of the Low Archipelago. The inhabitants of it appeared to be a peculiar tribe, totally different from those of any other island in the group, without any marks of warfare, and with evidences of a life of profound seclusion, yet understood the Tahitian language, and seemed to be only about ninety in number. The men had strong wiry beards and moustaches, sharp strong features, and an expressive physiognomy. They at first were very timid, and greatly astonished, and met the advances of their visitors with a mixtureof bewilderment, and fear, and reverence, and afterwards put hands on them, as if to be assured that they were real persons; and on receiving a few trifling presents, broke forth into a chant or song. The younger ones were the first to show confidence, and soon began to indulge in fun and laughter. None of the natives took alarm at the firing of guns, but were much surprised to see the birds killed, holding up their hands, and making ejaculations. They had no idea of the principles of barter, but allowed anything to be taken without opposition, and accepted gratefully and joyously whatever was given in

The natives of Wytoohu.

return. When asked to lead the way to their huts, they seemed at first thunderstruck, but afterwards cheered up, and complied. Their huts stood in a glade, surrounded by pandanus and cocoa-nut trees, but consisted merely of a few poles bent into an arch, by sticking both ends into the ground, and covered with mats, grass, and cocoa-nut leaves, and were each about six or eight feet long, four feet high, and five feet wide, barely sufficient to keep out the sunshine, and totally useless as a protection from rain. Their utensils were small and rude, and their baskets were hung on the tops of the huts and on trees.

The inhabitants of Raraka.

The squadron sailed from the Disappointment Islands to Raraka, and discovered two considerable islands by the way. Raraka lies nearly in the centre of the most crowded part of the Low Archipelago, about mid distance between the Disappointment Islands and Tahiti. The inhabitants of it presented a striking contrast to those of Wytoohu. They were under the care of a native missionary, and did much credit to his labours. They amounted to about two hundred, and consisted chiefly of sojourners from Tahiti and Chain Island, who had come in well-built double canoes on a shelling voyage. They gave the officers and men of the squadron a hearty welcome, and were eager to supply their wants, yet could not be induced by any consideration to do anything for them on Sabbath, but spent all that day in religious rest. Their chief and some others had been debauched by rum and whisky freely given them by vessels resorting to the island for the pearl fishery; yet the great body of the people seemed to have continued perfectly temperate, and were at once modest, industrious, and cheerful.

Their dress and pursuits.

They wore all sorts of odds and ends of European dress, and paid much regard to decency and cleanliness; and though they had but a slight interest in the island, they did something to it in the way of cultivation, and had many of the manners of a settled community. Their method of catching fish was curious, and served the double purpose of a great sport and a chief

CHAP. XI. means of subsistence. A rude and shallow pen, with a channel leading into it, was formed of loose coral stones near the mouth of the lagoon, and all the natives, young and old, went about one-third of a mile up the beach of the lagoon, and there ranged themselves in a row, from the shortest to the tallest, and entered the water. They then moved noiselessly toward the pen, driving the fish before them; and as they approached, they began to splash and make a noise, and gradually waxed louder, and drew closer, till they ended in a continuous roar round the entrance to the pen. The fish were terrified, and dashed violently on, and after entering the pen, were struck dead with spears.

Chain Island. Chain Island, or Anaa, is mentioned in the fifth chapter of this volume as the central scene of the introduction of Christianity to the Low Archipelago. But so late as 1839, the people there continued to live in a very primitive state, only half-clothed, and using no other food than the cocoa-nut, and yet had a healthy appearance, and were making progress in education. One of the regular missionaries in Tahiti visited them that year, and addressed them in congregations of from 300 to 400 persons; and he found that most of them could read and write, and that 222 had been baptized, and he formed forty-three of them into a church.

The Austral Islands. The Austral Islands figure brilliantly in the early missionary narratives, in consequence of their warm and sudden reception of Christianity; and they continue to possess intense interest on account of steadfast attachment to the truth. But they have a monotonous existence, and a very small and diminishing population,—are entirely under the care of native missionaries, and lie much out of the way of shipping thoroughfare; and therefore they provoke little notice in the later missionary reports. In 1838, Raivavai, Tubuai, Rurutu, and Rimatara, had aggregately 133 church members; while the first and second had together an entire population of not more than 800 individuals.

The Marquesas are now much better known than when the fifth chapter of this volume was written, and they continue to deserve as fully as ever all the terrible things which are there said respecting their wickedness and barbarity. They have still the bad pre-eminence of having more sternly resisted the work of Protestant missions than any other islands of the Pacific. Their people still live like brutes, or at best employ their reason only to give relief to their obscenities and atrocities. Their very amusements on all ordinary occasions have but a degree or two more of mind in them than the pulings of infancy; and their festivals, or grand sports, take place only in connection with celebration of battles, and feasting on the flesh of their fallen foes. Their treatment of the sick is a shocking mixture of cruelty and superstition. An invalid is pushed into a corner, or carried out of the way, and left in the woods. An occasional supply of food is taken to him, his coffin is made in his presence, and when he seems to be near death, he is deliberately suffocated by stopping up his mouth and nostrils. They suppose the soul to reside in the epigastric region, and they suffocate the dying man, in order to keep it there till the body shall waste away by decomposition. They think that if the soul were allowed to escape by natural death, it would wander into vacant space, and die of hunger; but that when it is shut in by suffocation, it continues to lodge in the decomposing corpse till another body is gradually got ready for it in a far distant island, and then passes right into that body, to enjoy a renewal of all the good things which were enjoyed in the present life. Yet, in spite of their superstitions, they have scarcely any ideas of religious worship; for though possessing here and there a rude wooden image of the character of an idol, they rarely do it any reverence, and are apt, on the slightest provocation, to cuff and kick it about in the manner of any common block or stone which may happen to lie in their way. They have priests and priestesses

The customs of the Marquesans.

The meagreness of their religion.

CHAP. XI. too, who rank high, and wield great authority; but these personages take little or no concern with religion, and are mainly employed in publishing the commands of the chiefs, in presiding at the great festivals, in pretending to foretell events, and in imposing the taboo, by which persons and places are made sacred from touch or intrusion.

The Marquesans, as has been stated on page 182, have a remarkable taste for tatooing; and they have also a passion for rude finery of costume, and a penchant for doing honour, in their own barbarous manner, to any white stranger whom they can find wandering in their valleys.

Adventure of Dr. Coulter.

Dr. Coulter realized all this in the course of his cruise in the Stratford. He was once accidentally left behind at one of the bays, and in a few days he became a great favourite with the tribe, and was thought a mighty acquisition for the purposes of a warlike attack which they were about to make on the inhabitants of a neighbouring valley. They made him a chief, and insisted on his being tatooed and decorated. "I was four hours," says he, "under the operator the first day, and three hours the second; which time was sufficient to mark on my skin the delineations and characteristics of a chief. After all was over, the surface was rubbed with scented cocoa-nut oil, which cooled the inflammation much, and gave me great ease. Then blowing conchs and firing muskets ended the ceremony. The people and chiefs all then looked upon me as more than one of themselves. They came in numbers, bringing what they thought delicacies of all sorts—fruit, fowl, pig, fish, &c.—and the chiefs gave me various presents. Mate, one of the chiefs, gave me his own head-dress, which he had worn in fifteen battles. It fitted me exactly, and was a splendid thing. There was a hoop of brown bark, about three inches deep, to fit on the head; this was encircled with pearl-shell of various shapes, and red berries glued fast on. From the entire circumference of the top drooped gracefully over the shoulders the long shining feathers of

His instalment as a chief.

the cock's tail; the inside was lined, and the lower edge fringed, with the varied coloured bright feathers of the ground-parrot. As soon as he put it on my head, and adjusted it, he took me to a Marquesan looking-glass (a deep pond of clear water) to look at myself, and from what I beheld then, I certainly thought my friends at home would scarcely know me."* He was now declared both chief and warrior, and was obliged to take part in a hostile expedition of cause and character too horrible for us to relate. A short time after the Stratford appeared again on the coast; and he escaped to the ship in his grotesque guise, and was there greeted "with the most tremendous and unrestrained laughter."

His return to his ship.

In 1842, two seamen of the American whaler Dolly went through a similar experience. They ran away from their ship at the anchorage of Noukahiva, and climbed over the alpine summit of that island with stupendous exertion and many most marvellous perils, into a secluded valley on the further side. The natives there, according to ordinary Marquesan usage, were in frequent hostility with those of the adjacent valleys, and at the same time had no commerce with the sea, and knew almost nothing of white men. They crowded with wild wonder around the new-comers, admitted them into one of their best bamboo houses, and handled them for a time in the same kind of way in which a merchant examines a piece of very rare and curious goods. One of the strangers soon disappeared, nobody but the savages ever knew how; but the other, who had been utterly lamed by injuries received in his scramble over the mountains, and who afterwards came to be well known to the reading public of Britain and America by his name of Herman Melville, was kept fast as a grand curiosity, and committed to the kind keeping of a giant of six feet three inches in height. He was treated by all the tribe with almost as much deference as if they had thought him an angel from heaven, and was daily carried by his keeper to the chief's residence and the

Adventure of Herman Melville.

CHAP. XI.

sacred groves, and whithersoever he chose; and after he got better of his lameness, was allowed to indulge himself within certain local limits to his heart's content; yet was all along watched day and night with seemingly the most anxious determination to retain him wholly and for ever the property of the tribe. He conformed to their customs, adopted their dress, submitted to be tatooed, and did all he could to look domesticated and happy; and he at length so far outwitted them, as to effect his escape, yet not without bloodshed and very romantic adventure.

Protestant missions in the Marquesas.

Two missionaries of the London Missionary Society continued to labour in the island of Santa Christina till near the end of 1841. They variously went the round of the valleys, and had central spheres of exertion; they erected dwelling-houses, school-houses, and places of worship; they made a strenuous effort to introduce a system of education, based on Scriptural principles, for the benefit of the rising generation; and they tried to teach the adults some useful arts of life, and to repress or mitigate the horrors of war. But they were not honoured to obtain a single convert, and did not long in any place get any considerable audiences, and could not even make much impression on the young; and besides continuing to be harassed by the indifference and wickedness of the natives, they at length encountered sore obstruction from immigrant Roman Catholic priests. One of them also made a visit to Dominica, and the other to Noukahiva, in the hope of founding stations on these islands; but both in Noukahiva and in Santa Christina, and partially also in Dominica, they saw grievous cause for discouragement to missionary effort in the strength and prevalence of the people's passion for war. And in December 1841, when the missionary ship Camden touched at Santa Christina, a resolution was taken to put an end to the mission. "At a period when the fields were white to the harvest in so many other directions, it appeared to them not in harmony with the indications of Divine Providence that they should

Termination of these missions.

continue to expend valuable time and labour on a field so unproductive and so difficult as the Marquesas." The directors, however, record a hope, in which every Christian man will join them, that "at some future period it may please the Great Head of the Church to open the way for their return to these islands, and prepare the hearts of the people for the reception of that Gospel which unhappily they have hitherto rejected." CHAP. XI.

In August 1838, two French Roman Catholic missionaries from the recently established college at Valparaiso were landed at Santa Christina by the French frigate Venus. The senior missionary of the London Missionary Society made strong objection to their settling at any station belonging to that society, but without avail. The chief, Eutiti, received presents from the captain of the frigate, gave the priests a cordial reception, and made them a grant of a piece of garden ground. Ten more priests arrived early next year, and were located, some in Noukahiva, and others in various parts of Santa Christina. Popery looked for a moment as if it would suit the taste of the savages. The tact and jesuitry and silken speech of the priests, together with the imposing ceremonial of their worship, seemed at first to make a very favourable impression; but these soon lost their charm. The Protestant missionaries, even in spite of the efforts of the priests to put them down, continued to retain all the trifling influence, or rather simple toleration, which they had acquired, and perhaps were now regarded by the natives in much the same light as the Papists. But soon after the departure of the Protestants, the French took another method, and tried what could be done by making the island their own. Rear-Admiral Dupetit Thouars appeared in the ship-of-war La Reine Blanche, claimed possession of the Marquesas for the flag of France, built forts on the two principal islands, and garrisoned them with 400 troops, and then asked from his government thrice that number of troops, and four ships of war, to maintain

Popish missions in the Marquesas.

Military seizure of the Marquesas.

CHAP. XI.

Resistance of the Marquesans.

the conquest. The natives could not look so coolly on the powder and shot of the soldiers as they had done on the mummeries of the priests, yet they were only exasperated, and not awed; and they rose like wild beasts from their lair to growl at the intruders. "Dupetit Thouars," says an Edinburgh reviewer of 1844, "had a very early specimen of what the French were to expect. One of their naval captains, of the name of Halley, was appointed governor. As he and another officer, with a party of men, were proceeding along a defile, they were fired upon by some natives concealed behind the rocks. Both officers were killed, and several of the men wounded. The captain was highly spoken of as a kind-hearted man, and apparently had given great satisfaction to the islanders. It is by no means improbable that the acquisition of this group of islands may prove to the French another Algeria on a smaller scale—an *Algerietta*. They have in fact already, it seems, given a new and most discriminating name to a group, which is henceforth to be called the "Oceanic Islands," as if there were no islands in other oceans. Does the old name of Pacific not square exactly with their views of what may happen, or be intended?"

Condition of Tahiti.

Tahiti, the chief island of the Georgian group, or Windward Islands, the most attractive island of the Pacific, the cynosure of Polynesia, the scene of one of the grandest modern triumphs of pure Christianity, was soon destined to suffer similar coercion to the Marquesas. During several years after 1832—the latest date to which its history is brought down in the former part of our volume—this lovely island continued to make progress in arts, industry, education, and pure religion. Some of its people, indeed, ran into irregularities, and a few continued wildly wicked; but most were as orderly as the best old Protestant communities in the world, and a large minority gave high and constant evidence of being true disciples of Christ. Intelligent sea-captains who touched at their shores, among whom may be mentioned Captains Fitzroy, Bruce, Bethune,

and Lord Edward Russell, were delighted with their manners; and one master of a vessel, who may be regarded as the mouth-piece of many, said, "It is one of the most gratifying sights which the eye can witness, on a Sunday in their church, which holds about five thousand, to see the queen near the pulpit, and all her subjects around her, decently apparelled, and in seemingly pure devotion. I never felt such a sensation of the real good of missionaries before. The women are all dressed in bonnets, after the fashion of some years back. Their attire is as near the English as they can copy. . . . They have a good code of laws. No spirits whatever are allowed to be landed on the island; therefore the sailors have no chance of getting drunk, and are all in an orderly state, and work goes on properly. No boat is allowed to be on shore after nine o'clock. Constables are stationed at different places to pick up all stragglers; and offenders are compelled to work on the public roads." CHAP. XI.

Effects of missions in Tahiti.

But beneath all this smooth and sparkling surface, an under-current of degeneracy had set in; and it soon increased to violence, and made the limpid waters of society turbid and troubled. From various causes, and especially from the bad example and seductious conduct of ungodly foreigners frequenting the island, many of the natives became avaricious and profane; not a few of the very members of the churches did much dishonour to their Christian profession, and multitudes of the inhabitants nearest the anchoring grounds, particularly at Papeiti, glided into disgusting immorality. Even in 1839, some officers of the American exploring squadron, who felt a curiosity to see a specimen of the old heathen dance, easily got proof that some of the very persons who stood fully in awe of the missionaries and the laws, still retained entire knowledge and love of ancient indecencies.

Declension in morals.

In 1838, before the degeneracy had become strong, and while it was undergoing a check by a partial revival of religion, two French Roman Catholic priests landed on

CHAP. XI. Arrival of two Popish priests.

the most sequestered side of the island, and travelled thence through the interior to Papeiti, preaching the peculiar doctrines of their creed, denouncing the doctrines of the missionaries as false, and saying that they themselves were come to make known to the people of Tahiti the true and only way to heaven. No man, at any part of their journey, was willing to listen to them, or would receive them into his house; but, on their arrival at Papeiti, a party of disaffected chiefs, merely for political reasons, gave them countenance, and the acting American consul, from what motive we know not, provided them an abode. But the priests were breaking, and knew that they were breaking, a long-established law, which did not allow any foreigners to reside on the island, or even to land on it, without special permission from the government; and multitudes of the people clamoured to have them expelled; and the queen and the loyal chiefs gently and urgently besought the priests to go quietly away. The priests, however, paid no attention to either the mobs or the authorities, but expressed a dogged determination to remain; and then they were seized and sent off by force, yet without the infliction of the slightest injury on their persons or their property.

Hostile visit of the French admiral.

Dupetit Thouars, the French admiral in the Pacific, regarded this as an insult to his flag; and he soon appeared at the island, in the frigate Venus, to avenge it. He demanded that the sum of two thousand dollars should be paid him, and threatened that, if it were not forthcoming in twenty-four hours, he would fire upon and destroy Papeiti. The queen had no money, and was inclined to let him do his worst; but the English consul, and quondam missionary, Mr. Pritchard, collected the required amount from the foreign residents, and paid it.

Next year a second infraction of the rights of the island was perpetrated, under circumstances of peculiar aggravation, by Captain La Place, of the frigate Artemise, of sixty-four guns, and 460 men. That ship, when on a voyage to

the Sandwich Islands, struck on a reef about twelve miles from Tahiti, and was so much injured as to be obliged to run direct to Papeiti harbour for repairs. The Tahitians cordially welcomed her, and eighty of them, for more than a month, gave constant assistance, night and day, to the labours of her crew. When she got again afloat, her captain called a meeting of the chiefs, for the professed purpose of thanking them for their kind offices, but in reality to demand that thenceforth Frenchmen should be allowed to visit Tahiti freely, and to build chapels and propagate their religion in it; and he enforced his demand by a threat of firing upon the town and devastating the island.

Behaviour of Captain La Place.

In 1842 Dupetit Thouars again appeared at Tahiti in the ship of war La Reine Blanche, to exact satisfaction for an alleged new offence against France. He demanded from the government a large sum of money, which he well knew they could not pay; and then, through a series of fraudulent proceedings, conducted chiefly by the French consul, he wrung from the queen's ministers a documentary cession to the French crown of a superiority or protectorate over the Tahitian territories. The queen herself, at the time, was absent from the scene of action, and likewise in a condition which utterly unfitted her for business, and which solemnly forbade all intrusion on her retirement; and soon after, in a great assembly of her chiefs and people, and in the presence of the British, French, and American consuls, she denied all knowledge of the contents of the document; and so also did her ministers who had been inveigled to sign it. But the French, nevertheless, held it to be a true deed; and they thenceforth proceeded, with steady diligence, to intrench themselves on the island, and to give it a liberal supply of Roman Catholic appliances. And, that no mistake might exist as to the intended spirit and vigour of their rule, Dupetit Thouars declared in a proclamation—" If any foreigner shall be found to speak against the French

French Protectorate over Tahiti.

CHAP. XI. government to the Tahitians, he shall be banished the island." The missionaries, however, were tolerated; and the natives sat down in silent submission, yet felt and nourished a stern resentment.

Moral degeneracy of the Tahitians.

The moral degeneracy of former years now appeared, far and wide, in the form of open vice. "The successive visits of French ships of war, with their large crews, since the year 1838," say the directors of the London Missionary Society, in their report of 1843, "have produced the most deplorable evils among certain classes of the people. Our faithful brethren, in their various letters, mourn over the awful consequences of French vices, in the fearful forms of disease, and the ravages of death, which they have brought upon the unhappy victims. If any confirmation of these heart-sickening statements be required, it may be found in the publication of two French writers, who describe themselves as engineers on board the Artemise, a French frigate, which was detained for repairs in the harbour of Tahiti four months in the year 1839. In the volume published by these men of science, glowing descriptions are given of the practices and enjoyments of the French seamen, while staying at the island, from which every friend of common decency and order must turn with disgust, and over which the heart of the Christian must bleed with anguish. In the French journals, also, of the last month, a letter has appeared, written by an officer on board the Reine Blanche, in September last, and bearing the strongest internal evidence of its genuineness and authenticity, in which similar vicious practices are declared to have been sanctioned and encouraged by Admiral Dupetit Thouars, for the purpose not merely of gratifying his seamen, but of counteracting the influence of the British missionaries. Such has been the debasing and destructive influence of the men who have visited Tahiti as the advocates and patrons of Romanism; who have at length, under the cannon of France, planted the crucifix upon her shores, and, by extortionate demands and threatened ven-

Debasing influence of the French.

geance, deprived a timid and unprotected people of their independence and their freedom."

In 1843 Dupetit Thouars once more appeared at Papeiti with three ships of war, to impose new humiliation on the queen, by demanding the removal of the emblem of her sovereignty from the Tahitian flag. She respectfully, but firmly, refused to comply. The demand was repeated, and again rejected; and then Dupetit Thouars declared her throne to be forfeited, and took formal possession of her territories for the crown of France. "The queen," says one of the missionaries, "aware of what was to take place, had issued proclamations, ordering her subjects to offer no opposition, and to bear patiently all that the French might do to them. She bore all with remarkable firmness, till her weeping chiefs returned to her at Mr. Pritchard's, whither she had fled for protection, and then she could no longer refrain from tears. It was a painfully interesting sight, to see so many veterans bathed in tears of sympathy for their lawful sovereign. The British consul then struck his flag, stating that he was not an accredited consul to a French colony, and solemnly protested against the whole of the proceedings of the French."

Dethronement of Pomare.

Louis Philippe, king of France, on learning what was done, declined to accept the sovereignty thus ignominiously obtained for him; and he afterwards recalled Dupetit Thouars, and sent M. Bruat in his place. But before his decision could be known at Tahiti, the fires of devastation and warfare were irretrievably kindled; and, besides, the protectorate still remained, and was practically as offensive as the sovereignty. The French on the island demanded from chiefs and people a full renunciation of the queen's authority, and used prompt means to harass, impoverish, and imprison the refractory. Some persons were arrested simply for reading a public address of the queen; and the inhabitants of the south side of the island, men, women, and children, to the number of upwards of 4000, were driven from their houses by spoliation and

War between the Tahitians and the French.

CHAP. XI.

military menace. A steam frigate, and a ship of thirty-two guns, hovered in the vicinity of the fugitives, and gave them no choice but to submit or to fight. The fugitives had taken with them whatever arms they could find, yet lay encamped several weeks in inaction; and when exhorted by the missionaries to make every possible submission for the sake of peace, they said, "We do not desire to fight, but we have been driven from our homes, our houses are destroyed, our property has been taken, and now they wish to take ourselves. We have given up our property, but we shall defend our liberties." The missionaries made strenuous efforts to avert hostilities, and persuaded the people to let them act as mediators, and offer terms of surrender; but before they could complete their mediation, a collision took place, and both parties were exasperated. Most of the people retreated to the valley of Mahæna, cut an intrenchment across it, erected a small fort, mounted two guns on the fort, and made all other preparation in their power for defence. They suffered severely from want of shelter from the weather, but were not allowed to lie long inactive. A fresh body of from 400 to 500 troops went round by sea to their neighbourhood, and landed and attacked them. The natives fought bravely, and drove back the troops; but whenever they left their defences to give chase, they were checked by charges of grape-shot from the steam frigate. They lost seventy of their bravest men—many of them church members; and though they held their ground heroically, and repelled several attacks, they at length wisely gave way, and ran to the bushes. The French spiked their guns, destroyed a neat adjacent village, and laid waste the surrounding country. Many of the weaker natives, together with the women and children, retired to the mountains, and the rest moved their camp to a place twelve miles nearer Papeiti.

The Tahitians in the camp.

Battle at Mahæna.

The queen, from the first, cherished high hope that the British government would defend her; and thought, that,

as soon as they should hear of her calamities, they would in some way or other obtain a restoration of her rights. She, therefore, took early refuge in the British ketch, Basilisk, and abode constantly there for six months; and then, on the arrival of the British ship of war, Carysfort, she and her suite were conveyed by that ship to Raiatea, where she determined to remain till Tahiti should be again free. Nor were the missionaries much less disturbed than the queen. Several of them were thrown totally idle—could no longer prosecute any of their labours—and went home to England. The venerable Henry Nott, who had been one of the devoted band in the first voyage of the Duff, in 1796, and had laboured in Tahiti for nearly fifty years, fell asleep in Jesus in the very middle of the war; and Thomas Smith M'Kean, a younger missionary of high character, was accidentally shot by one of the native troops, while standing in the verandah of his house, on the eve of one of the engagements between the Tahitians and the French.

Disasters of the Missionaries.

In January, 1845, the French made a formal renunciation of their usurped sovereignty, and resumed what they were pleased to call their protectorate. Yet they did not restore the queen, but constituted a corrupt and mercenary chief of the name of Paraita permanent regent, and retained all the real power in their own hands, so that the whole proceeding was a mockery. At the close of the same year, Admiral Sir G. Seymour visited the island in the Collingwood, and informed the Tahitians that the British government had acknowledged the protectorate, and therefore could not render them assistance. The people at the camp received his message solemnly, and in full assembly, and they replied, through several speakers, to the following effect:—"We are sorry to hear the message now delivered; but give our respects to the admiral, and say that it does not alter our determination. We will abide by the decision of our queen: if she submits, we will submit—if she resists, we will defend her. And as for

Declaration of non-interference by England.

CHAP. XI. ourselves, we remain for ever the allies of England. For England, for England, for ever!" Nor did the Christian portion of the armed natives continue less steady in their religious attachments than in their patriotic zeal. One of the missionaries, speaking of a Sabbath which he spent with them among the mountains, says, "I reached the camp in safety, and spent a happy day. All was order and decorum. Oh what a contrast to Papeiti! The advance French force at Abonu, four miles from Papenoo, were on guard; so also were the sentinels at the native forts. But in Papenoo, where the main body of the natives had retired to spend the Sabbath, all was tranquillity —they attended divine service, neatly dressed, as usual. I did not see a musket, and observed nothing amongst the people which could lead me to suppose that they were engaged in war."

The Tahitian camp on a Sabbath.

In the spring of 1846, the armed natives, learning that a French force had gone to invade the Leeward Islands, where the queen still lay in refuge, rushed down from the mountains, and attacked the French stronghold at Papeiti. But the French repelled them, and drove them back to their fastnesses, and made strenuous but vain efforts to get possession of their chief fortress on the mountains; and then, in order to cut off their main supplies of provision, and try to starve them into a surrender, they desolated all the country below, levelling every house, cutting down every tree, and destroying all fruit and other esculent productions. The natives in the camp were now crushed with disaster. Exposure, hunger, anxiety, and disease, pressed them to the dust. Many, in dire extremity, were conveyed through the defiles to a place of relief in the low country, where food and medicine could be had, yet arrived there only to die. The majority in the camp, too, were not Christians, and took occasion to throw off all restraint, and to afflict their Christian comrades and one another with riotousness and vice. And the rest of the population, who had submitted to the invaders, and were

Disasters in the Tahitian camp.

contentedly fraternizing with them, had for the most part made a progress in wickedness far more rapid and thorough than that which their convert fathers had made in Christianity. Popery, indeed, had done nothing among them; but sheer bold atheistic depravity had done much. "Intemperance and licentiousness," say the missionary directors, "were then exhibited in Papeiti and its neighbourhood in forms as revolting and loathsome as were ever witnessed in the reign of paganism."

French reinforcement.

The French forces on the island amounted to upwards of one thousand; and being so powerfully aided by famine and sickness in the natives' camp, and by defection and dissoluteness elsewhere, they might have seemed abundantly strong enough to subdue the island; yet, in the autumn of 1846, they obtained from home, and felt fully that they needed, a reinforcement of about fifteen hundred. Their grand desideratum was to get possession of the natives' chief mountain fastness of Fantaua. The road to this leads for two hours along savage ravines, among mountain torrents, and through dense woods. The sides of the ravines soar aloft to mountain altitude, and often approach so closely, as to leave only narrow gorges, which a small band of determined men could hold good against armies. The entrance to Fantaua perfectly commands an immense natural fortress, and is, in a military sense, the key to the whole island; and it could be taken from the natives who were posted within only by means of a most difficult and daring ascent of an alpine cliff, followed by an advance along a narrow ridge, and an attack upon the natives' rear. The French commander called for volunteers for this perilous service, and soon had more than were needed; and he selected sixty-two of the best, and sent them to the enterprise in very light clothing, and burdened only with musket, bayonet, cartridge-box, and instruments of climbing. They went up the cliff in a manner of very perilous effort, using sharp irons and ropes, and spending twelve hours of hard labour to gain the top;

Attack on Fantaua.

CHAP. XI.

but they succeeded perfectly, and at length went down in a moment upon the natives as if they had dropped from the clouds. The natives were panic-struck; the fastness of Fantaua was taken, and the French became undisputed masters of Tahiti.

Pomare accepts the Protectorate.

The queen, on learning that her cause was up, left Raiatea, went to Tahiti, and accepted the protectorate. The French built her a fine house, gave her a yearly pension of 25,000 francs, and began to treat her with a show of the consideration due to her high dignity, but would not allow her the right of receiving any stranger without their permission. A harmony was established between her and them, far more perfect than could have been well expected in the circumstances, and not a little honourable to her good-nature. The French governor also began to act quite impartially, or even favourably, to her personal friends and to the Protestant missionaries. Madam Ida Pfeiffer, in the course of her well-known "Voyage Round the World," was present at a public entertainment given to her by the officers on the 1st of May 1847, and gives us the following glimpse of their social intercourse:—"The queen was very showily dressed in sky-blue satin, with flounces of rich black blonde, a wreath of flowers in her hair, and in her hand an embroidered handkerchief trimmed with broad lace; and, moreover, for this grand occasion she had crammed her feet into shoes and stockings—a restraint to which they are but little accustomed. Her husband—whom the French call 'Prince Albert of Tahiti,' not only because he is one of the handsomest men in the island, but because he is not king, but only the consort of the queen—wore a French general's uniform, in which he really looked very well, if you did not see his feet. Besides these illustrious personages, there was a neighbouring potentate, a King Otoume, from one of the other islands, whose costume was somewhat singular. He had short white breeches, a coat of brimstone-coloured calico, and bare feet. Some

Pomare at a French entertainment.

of the elder Tahitian ladies wore old-fashioned European bonnets, and some of the younger ones brought their babies with them, and when they could not otherwise keep them quiet, sat down very composedly and suckled them. In some small matters the behaviour of Queen Pomare was rather peculiar. Her majesty retired during the evening to enjoy the solace of a cigar, and at table she called for a plate to put by some nice things to carry home with her; but her husband and the brimstone-coloured prince paid me all the usual European table attentions with punctilious politeness."

Revival of religion in Tahiti.

The re-establishment of peace in Tahiti, even in spite of the pressure of the protectorate, the corrupting example of French manners, and the malign influence of Popish ceremonies, was soon followed by a diminution of wickedness and an increase of true religion. The calamities of the invasion and the war were overruled by the Father of Mercies for the spiritual good of very many of the natives. A religious revival took place in 1848 at one or two of the missionary stations, and extended next year to other parts of the island. The dregs of the population, indeed, were much injured, and even some of the better sort ensnared, by a relaxation of the prohibitory laws affecting the sale of spirituous liquors; but the great majority of the church-members remained firm against all kinds of seductious influences, and very many ungodly persons, including not a few who had been openly vicious, and some who had long made stubborn opposition to the Gospel, were converted. Up to the date of the Missionary Report of 1851, too, not a single individual had been seduced by the sophistries of Romanism, and Queen Pomare continued steadfast in her attachment to evangelical Protestantism, and consistent in her deportment as a Christian.

The condition of Eimeo.

The island of Eimeo was not directly disturbed by the French, yet suffered severe injury from its connexion and sympathy with their proceedings in Tahiti. Some of the

CHAP. XI. chiefs and their adherents went over and joined their compatriots in the camp; others, from motives of worldly self-interest, were induced to take office under the French; and the general body of the people, feeling themselves set adrift from the usual restraints of society, became relaxed in their duties and in their feelings of moral obligation; and when the restriction on the sale of ardent spirits was withdrawn, a larger proportion of them than in Tahiti abandoned themselves for a time to habits of intemperance. Yet in Eimeo, also, true religion nobly held its own while the struggle was going on, and drew back a reaction to its side, though in a less degree than in Tahiti, when peace became re-established.

Progress of the Leeward Islands.

The Leeward, or Society Islands, have continued to make steady progress in civilization, and to hold a fair though chequered course in Christianity. So late as 1818, the people of Huahine lived in miserable hovels, and were almost entirely destitute of clothing; and only twenty-five years after, most of the chiefs and the church-members had good substantial houses, raised on frames of tamana wood, with boarded floors, separate sitting and sleeping apartments, and in many instances neatly curtained beds. And other changes, both there and in other islands of the group, were equally rapid and pleasing.

But in 1844 a free importation of ardent spirits worked some havoc, and the news of the French aggression on Tahiti, together with the arrival of Queen Pomare as a refugee in Raiatea, produced great alarm, and began for a time to shake the framework of society. In January 1846, a French force appeared in a steam-ship at Huahine and Raiatea, and made a bold but vain attempt to take possession of these islands, and threatened to return with great reinforcement, and blockade the whole group.* Many of the people of Raiatea retired to strong places in the interior, and intrenched themselves within artificial fortifications; and Queen Pomare and her suite, though enjoying the full sympathy of the Raiateans,

French hostilities at Huahine and Raiatea.

suffered such severe privation, as to be in want even of the necessaries of life. The French also attacked Borabora: and through the timidity or treachery of some of the inferior chiefs, in the absence of the principal chief, Tapoa, and in spite of the wishes of nine-tenths of the inhabitants, they got possession of that island, and declared it to be thenceforth under their flag; yet they did not inflict upon it anything like the degree of social and moral evil as upon Tahiti.

Descent of the French on Huahine.

About two or three months later, another French force landed from a steam-ship on Huahine, and spread desolation and dismay through the most populous part of its territory. A few of its inhabitants were so misguided as to aid them, but the general body ran together in indignation, fell courageously and skilfully on the invaders, slew twenty-one Frenchmen, severely wounded forty-five others, and drove the rest headlong to their ship. The missionary in charge of the island happened to be absent at the time, and he describes as follows the scene which met his eyes on his return:—"We reached Huahine on the 4th of May, and I could not refrain from tears when witnessing the fearful desolation which the attack had produced. I walked two or three times over the site of the village at Faré, and visited Maeva twice, to see the place where the conflict was carried on. Nearly one hundred good plastered houses have been destroyed, and sixty-eight of an inferior kind, in the town of Faré alone. The large chapel was broken into; a shot passed through the roof, carrying away part of the rafters and a principal post. Our fine school-house was entirely destroyed. Even the repository of the dead, in the chapel-yard, was ransacked, the coffins thrown out and broken, and the bones cast about. Our bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and orange trees, have been cut down for more than a mile along the beach, and extending inland to the foot of the mountains. The fine large tamana and yam trees, which formed so delightful a shade along the shore, have been burnt, and

Fearful havoc worked by them.

CHAP. XI

the Queen's Pier greatly injured. Three villages, Mahalea, Parea, and Farerii, have been burnt; the first of these contained thirteen houses, the second seven, and the third fourteen. At Parea and Farerii the chapels were also burnt. Three native houses, and a grove of bread-fruit trees, were destroyed at Faaie, where the steamer anchored; making a total of about two hundred houses destroyed on the island. Both the French and their native adherents carried on a war of extermination against all cattle, pigs, fowls, &c., so that the whole of our live stock has disappeared."

Expulsion of the French from the Leeward Islands.

The people of Borabora rose about the same time, and expelled the French from their island. The people of Raiatea also continued intrenched within their camps, daily expecting another attack, but happily were not molested. The French had got too warm a reception in the Leeward group to have much desire, for the present, to return to it; and their authorities at home were urgently reminded by the British government, that no kind of cession had ever been made to them of any right over that group, and were soon induced to acknowledge its independence. The directors of the Missionary Society, backed by the sympathy and the remonstrances of almost all the evangelical communities of Britain, had no small share in bringing about this result; and glad would they have been could they have shared also in achieving a similar result for Tahiti and Eimeo; for they did everything in their power toward it, and did not once slacken their efforts till the task became hopeless.

Condition of the Harvey Islands.

The Hervey Islands, which are so lengthily and favourably noticed in the sixth chapter of this volume, still continue an undefaced and most beautiful monument of the triumph of Christianity. In 1841, for the first time, a European missionary went to labour on the island of Mangaia; and he found, that through the instrumentality of the native missionaries sent thither from Tahaa, the works of evangelization and civilization had already

been largely done. Three settlements, about eight miles distant from one another, had been formed. The principal chapel was 133 feet long and 35 feet wide, and could not hold the multitudes of people who attended it, so that many had to crowd outside round the windows. Most of the aged inhabitants could read, and not fewer than 1200 children were under instruction. And all classes, old and young, were so eager and urgent to be taught both sacred and secular things, that they kept the missionaries constantly employed at all available hours, both night and day. Nor were they deterred by want of fair appliances, but got on for a while without proper school accommodation, and used sharp-pointed sticks and broad leaves of the banana-tree in lieu of more suitable writing materials.

High progress in Mangaia.

The inhabitants of all the Hervey Islands, in 1842, possessed far more moral worth and far more true well-being than many a population who have long borne the Christian name. The strifes, and vices, and tumultuous wretchedness which were once universal among them, had totally ceased. Society was prosperous and comfortable; both the old and the young generally loved the schools; nearly all the inhabitants attended the places of worship; and a large proportion were in church-fellowship, and adorned the doctrine of God their Saviour. The spirit of the Christians there was of course the spirit of true Christians everywhere; but it specially glowed with gratitude to God, and loved to expatiate on the deliverances he had wrought for them out of their heathen miseries. A fine specimen of it was given, about that time, in an address by Makea, one of the principal chiefs of Rarotonga, to the friends of missions at Sydney. "I wish to make known," said he, "some of the evils which formerly grew in my own land. The evils of which I wish to speak first are wars, then of cannibalism, then of plurality of wives, which prevailed in my land: and I wish to make known, too, the way in which

Speech of a Rarotongan Chief.

CHAP. XI. God has been pleased to remove these evils. I do not wish to dwell upon the evils, because they are now abolished; but to make known to you how God was pleased to send his messengers, who came with the Word of Life in their hand, and said, 'This is the Word of God.' Here I stand before you as a Christian, and to what are we to attribute it. To your love? to your compassion? No, it is the consequence of the love of God—the mercy of a Saviour."

A place of ancient horrors.

One day, in 1843, while the missionary in Mangaia was travelling between two of the stations in company with a few aged converts who had formerly been very wicked men, one of them suddenly pointed to a small adjacent vale, and exclaimed, "This is a spot of ancient fame—the devil's ground. How many a heathen warrior has fallen here!" And he then told a tale in substance as follows:—About six or eight years after Captain Cook's visit, the island was at peace, and all its people were living in heathen harmony. At that time one aspiring and vicious chief, who had been defeated in a former war, conceived a plan of murder and bloodshed upon a scale before unknown. Sending his under chieftains round to all the tribes, he gave an invitation to all to assemble at a given time on the spot now before us, where a most extraordinary feast was to be prepared, and a revelry of many days' duration was to be celebrated.

Awful funeral pile.

On the morning appointed, nearly all the warriors of the various districts were there, and an oven of immense dimensions was heated, consisting of large heaps of stones on piles of flaming wood. When all was ready, and each man was about to cast in his portion of food, a great band of bravos, belonging to the chief who gave the invitation, rushed furiously forward, and drove a multitude of the unsuspecting assembly into the flaming oven. Long and long was the sky darkened by the ascending smoke of this funeral pile, amidst the cries and curses of the bereaved, and the hellish joy of the tor-

mentors. But those days have passed away, never to return; and now all the island is ever happy under the bright rays of the Sun of Righteousness." CHAP. XI.

A Christian public entertainment.

In 1850, all the inhabitants of this island once more assembled for a great public entertainment. But the Christian missionary then presided, and all hearts were knit together in love to the Redeemer. Their former place of worship had been destroyed by a terrific hurricane, and a new one, ninety-six feet long, sixty-six feet wide, and twenty-one feet high, had just been built, and was now to be opened. Five hundred church-members, 400 catechumens, and upwards of 1000 children, walked to it in procession. A native preacher delivered a sermon; several of the church-members delivered addresses; the missionary gave a discourse, and administered the Lord's Supper; and then the happy multitude, sires and little ones, young men and maidens, sat down in the chapel-grounds outside to a feast of upwards of 300 roasted hogs, 400 turkeys, and the beef of a young bullock—the first that ever had been killed on the island.

A hurricane.

The hurricane to which we have alluded differed little or nothing from the hurricanes which occasionally desolate almost all intertropical regions, and which figure frequently and appallingly in the history of Polynesian missions; yet it may be glanced at, both as a specimen of these phenomena, and for the sake of a providential incident which followed from it. The missionary, Mr Gill, describes it as bursting out in the night, and striking all the inhabitants with dismay; and after tracing it to its climax, he says—"Just at this time there was an awful shriek which rent the air, and seemed to be louder and higher than the roar of winds and waves. The natives observed that the wind had changed, and had assumed the character of a whirlwind. Every part of the village was caught by its violence; and the tallest trees, with more than fifty houses, fell in a moment; still, all was not done; the winds again roared, and the waters thundered;

CHAP. XI. trees, as they were broken, were tossed in the air, and were seen turning rapidly like wheels." The hurricane swept all the island, knocked down dwelling-houses, school-houses, and chapels, and did great injury to the plantations of food; and it also swept all Rarotonga, and worked such awful havoc there, as to threaten the population with famine. But the seed of the pumpkin plant had been introduced about four months before, and the fruit of it, only three weeks after, covered all the land, and was a supply of food seemingly not less miraculous than abundant, and certainly most indicative of the foreknowledge and benevolence of God.

The Penrhyn Islands.

The Penrhyn Islands, situated about five days' sailing to the north of the Hervey Islands, are a small but interesting group. The principal one used to be laid down in the map in south latitude 9° 58′, and west longitude 158° 14′; but was found by one of the ships of the American exploring expedition, which visited it in the spring of 1841, to be situated thirty miles farther west. It is a coral island of the ordinary coral formation, densely covered with trees, and comprising an extensive lagoon, and seemed to the commander of the American exploring ship to be about fifty feet high, nine miles long, five miles broad, and evidently very thickly peopled. One side of it was skirted with a continuous village, and crowds of the inhabitants came off to the ship in canoes; but they were too ferocious to permit any attempt at landing, and even obliged the ship to stand to her defence on the waters.

Ferocity of the natives.

They were the wildest, boldest, and most clamorous savages whom the ship's company had anywhere seen. They yelled and bawled with frightful voice, and most violent gesticulations, none attending to another, but each striving to be the noisiest, and all frantic with excitement. Their tones ranged widely, from high to low, but were horribly discordant; their utterance was impetuous, and sometimes ran on for three quarters of an hour without one pause for a full breath; and their gestures were the

gestures of maniacs—slapping of thighs, wringing of hands, protruding of eyes, and a frenzy of grimaces. They seemed incapable of one moment's fixture of thought, and shifted their attention rapidly and fitfully from one object to another; yet both amid their clamour and their volatility, they clambered up the sides of the ship, forced a kind of intercourse on the crew, and committed some dexterous acts of theft. A charge was made upon them with cutlasses, to frighten them from the ship, but without hurting them; and the instant they got into their canoes, they hurled violently on board large pieces of coral and shells. Two shots were then fired over their heads; but they treated them with disdain, and stood up in their canoes brandishing their spears, and yelling defiance. Most were quite naked, and nearly all the rest wore only a small maro of cocoa-nut leaves. None were tatooed. many had lost their front teeth, and most had been scarified in body and limbs. Their ornaments were strands of human hair, braided and decorated with finger-nails half an inch long, and two to each strand. An old man with a fillet of leaves on his head, and a sort of mantle of leaves over his shoulders, seemed to be a chief; but all the rest might be pronounced a rabble, showing no deference to one another, and no concern for any one who got into a difficulty, but each wriggling and struggling only for himself. In a physical view, however, they are a noble race, athletic, erect, and finely-formed, and they have black hair, a darker olive complexion than the Tahitians, and a cast of feature similar to the Samoans.

Attack on the exploring ship.

Manaika is another island of the Penrhyn group, and may be presumed to resemble the principal one in structure and population. It contains about 1200 inhabitants, and is governed by two chiefs. Two native Christian teachers were sent to it in 1848 from Rarotonga, and on their landing, they received a promise of protection, and were lodged in the house of one of the principal inhabitants. Nearly all their little property was stolen from

The island of Manaika.

CHAP. XI. them in a few hours, "but they took joyfully the spoiling of their goods," and felt it only an incentive to their zeal for the conversion of the heathen. During the first few nights they got scarcely any sleep, in consequence of crowds filling the house to hear the new things they had to tell; and in the short period of four months, they had the unspeakable joy to see Christianity triumphant. The chiefs and grandees then condemned the idols to the flames, and the idol temples to destruction. Thenceforth all the people began to receive regular instruction from the Christian teachers; and soon after, two chapels were erected, daily schools for adults and for children were established, and the ordinances of the Gospel, together with the Sabbath-day rest, began to be generally observed. The news of this change came suddenly upon the Christians of Rarotonga—for they had heard not a word from the two teachers for fifteen months after their landing on Manaika, and were in not a little anxiety about them; and when the news came, "they thanked God, and took courage," and felt strong kindlings of desire to send the Gospel to other savage islands also, particularly to the frantically wild one which would not permit a landing from the American exploring ship.

Conversion of the Manaikans.

A small, obscure, and curious group of little islands lies about three days' sailing to the north of the Navigators' Islands. Oatafu, or Duke of York's Island, is one of the most northerly of this group, and lies in south latitude 8° 36′, and west longitude 172° 23′ 52″. It is a lagoon island, of coral formation, about three miles long, and two and a half miles broad. Byron discovered it in 1765, and supposed it to be uninhabited; and one of the ships of the American exploring squadron visited it in 1840, and found it occupied by about 120 inhabitants. These seemed close akin to the Samoans, but appeared to be excessively sequestered, and were much afraid of the ship and the crew. Great difficulty was experienced in getting into communication with them; and then they

The island of Outafu.

CHAP. XI.

were strongly excited, and passed rapidly through various moods of awe, shyness, caressing, and laughter, and all the while kept up a peculiar chant or song. They imagined that the ship had come from the sky, and that the officers were divinities; and though often assured to the contrary, and that, too, in answer to questions of their own, they would not be convinced of their mistake, but went on chanting as before; and they were afraid to go on board of the ship, lest it should be lifted out of the water, and taken to the sky. They were tatooed, and wore a braided maro; and they had an ornament on the forehead like the front of a cap, to protect the face from the sun, and also wore necklaces of shells, and neck-wreaths of pandanas leaves, and little bits of sponge. Their houses stood together in a village, and were oblong, and about fifteen feet high to the ridge-pole, but contained no furniture except a few gourds, and a rude reclining stool. The island contained no proper landing-place; and for lack of this, the natives had constructed three small quays for their canoes, and a sheltering house for their fishing implements. They practised no sort of cultivation, but lived wholly on fish and cocoa-nut. They obtained all their fresh water from excavations in the trunk of cocoa-nut trees, and seemed to live in profound peace with one another and with all mankind, having no marks of strife, and no kind of implements of war.

Behaviour of the Oatafuans.

An island, to which they gave the name of Bowditch Island, was discovered by the American explorers about forty-six leagues south-east of Oatafu. It is a coral island, eight miles long, and four miles broad, but rises in some points to a considerable elevation, and has extensive groves of cocoa-nut trees. Its population amount to about 600, and are governed by one chief, and live principally in one village. They had the same sort of notions of their American visitors as those entertained by the islanders of Oatafu, and they behaved to them in a similar way. A party of about 200, with the chief at their head, awaited

Bowditch Island.

CHAP. XI. the approach of the officers. They were under great excitement, and began to chant and gesticulate, then pointed to the sun, and howled, and then spread mats, and made signs to the officers to be seated. The chief then embraced the captain, rubbed noses, pointed to the sun, howled, moaned, rubbed his nose on the captain's chin, hugged him again and again, put a mat round his waist, secured it with a cord of human hair, rubbed noses again, and howled for twenty minutes. The grandees went through the same ceremonies with the other officers. But the chief was more agitated than any of them, and seemed intensely anxious to propitiate the captain, and set up a most piteous howl the moment the latter attempted to leave his side. All, however, were difficult to be tranquillized, and never got wholly rid of fear and awe, nor even became convinced that the strangers did not come from the sun; yet by and by they traded with the supposed divinities, and stole from them, and proved themselves very expert thieves. These people seem to be the largest community in the group, and probably were the parent hive from which the inhabitants of the other islands went off. They live like the islanders of Oatafu, and have similar manners and decorations, but display a greater proficiency in the rude arts. Their implements and fabrics are numerous, and in some instances ingenious—comprising saws, files, mats, drums, drills, buckets, and other articles, formed out of the materials of their fisheries, coral rocks, and cocoa-nut coppices. The maro of the men is from six to eighteen inches wide, and sometimes very fine in texture, and adorned with fringe; and that of the matrons consists of a great number of leaves, about fifty pounds in weight, tied to a cord slit into filaments softened with oil, disposed round the loins like a bundle of hay, and looking altogether very huge and ridiculous. But the most remarkable artificial object seen by the American explorers on the island was a temple. This stood on a most lovely spot in the centre of the village, and measured fifty feet

Behaviour of the Bowditch Islanders.

Their implements and dress.

in length, thirty-five in width, and about twenty in height, and had an appearance somewhat like a rudely-elegant marquee. The people declared it to be tabooed, and were unwilling to let the Americans enter it, but at length consented to let them, probably on the ground of their supposed connection with the sun. The interior, however, contained little that was interesting, and the chief of the idols was only a block, fourteen feet high, eighteen inches in diameter, and covered all over with mats.

The Navigators' Islands, or Samoan group, have realized, down to 1851, all the great things, both pleasant and painful, which might have been expected of them from the account given of their position, extent, and history in the seventh chapter of this volume. They continue to be a scene of the triumphant progress of Christianity and civilization, and the scene also of dire struggles of evil to arrest that progress; and they are likewise a grand central luminary for sending forth enlightenment to other parts of Polynesia. Yet among the many important events which have recently taken place on them, only two or three are peculiar enough to challenge notice in a select narrative. The Navigators' Islands.

In 1840, there occurred in Tutuila and Upolu one of those sudden, excited, and extensive diffusions of true religion among the ungodly which are commonly called revivals; and though followed in a year or two by a perceptible degree of the reaction which has been observed more or less to follow the generality of revivals, this was remarkable not more for the width of its range, than for the general permanency of its effects. It was most remarkable at Pagnopagno, the station of Mr. Murray, where only thirty persons had been gathered into church-fellowship, and yet were reckoned a large amount of fruit from three years' labour among untaught savages; and there it burst forth so mightily, that in the course of one year, and under a very scrupulous ordeal of admission, upwards of 400 persons were added to the church, and many more were anxious to be added. Revival at Pagnopagno

CHAP. XI. The admirable young man whose biography is told in the volume entitled "Missionary Life in Samoa," arrived at Pagnopagno while the revival was going on, and he says, "The chapel is 100 feet by 27, benched very thickly, and capable of containing about a thousand people; for they fill every corner, passages, and all, besides standing at the windows outside. The preacher was very earnest, and a more decorous and eagerly attentive congregation I never saw. Mrs. Murray had told me, before going in, that the Holy Spirit has of late been operating powerfully among the people, and that conviction was often so strong, that they could not be restrained from crying out even in the chapel. And so we found it; for four or five women fainted with the effort to repress the expression of their powerful emotions, and were carried out. You may imagine my feelings when standing in the midst of a congregation of reclaimed savages, hearing them sing with all their might the praises of Jehovah, seeing them stooping the head, and reverentially covering the face, while there was scarcely one wandering eye during prayer, and during sermon they seemed to devour the word as it dropped from the preacher's lips. Here a woman sobbed out, against all her efforts to restrain herself; and there a man wiped the unbidden tear from his swarthy cheek, so lately marked by all that could express a wild and ferocious heart, but now meek, and humble, and subdued." Nor was the earnestness of the converts, for some time after the subsidence of the excitement, much less strong or steady than amid the quickest whirl of its action. Some of the non converts, however, soon broke away from restraint, and by and by lent their aid to drive the whole community into confusion.

Progress of the revival.

Permanence of its effects.

Toward the close of 1843, some of the inhabitants of the district of Sapapalii, in the island of Savaii, declared war against the inhabitants of the district of Palauli. They acted simply in the spirit of their old heathen turbulence; but they had among them a few apostates from

the fellowship of the church, and may be supposed to have been largely influenced by hostility to godliness and good order. Many earnest and affectionate efforts were made to turn them from their evil course, but these were met only with the grossest insult and indignity. The people against whom the invaders marched had been well plied with missionary ministrations, and comprised not a few true Christians; and, being unwilling to shed blood even in self-defence, they fled under night through rayless woods, amid torrents of rain, to a place of refuge at a distance. The invaders did not pursue them, but remained four weeks in their lands, wasted their plantations, cut down many of their fruit-trees, killed all their domestic animals, and destroyed all their dwelling-houses, and then issued a proclamation, offering the fugitives peace, but forbidding them to return to their lands during the present generation. Then they went back to Sapapalii, and there prosecuted the church-members and others, and threatened to burn their houses, and drive them into banishment. Their rage for a time was very fierce, but it met no resistance strong enough to keep it blazing; and at length it smouldered away, and sank to ashes.

Warfare in Savaii.

But a constant formidable evil in the Navigators' Islands is the risk of outbreaks between neighbouring chiefs, arising from their perfect independence of one another, and from the want of any party other than the missionaries, who might adjust their differences; and this, in 1847, led to a war which, for two years, kept part of the group in a turmoil, filled all the rest with alarm, and did grievous injury to the interests of civilization and Christianity. Nor was peace quite restored even in 1849. But "the judicious counsels of the missionaries, and the good example of the Christian portion of the native community, so far prevailed as to prevent the renewal of active hostilities;" and "the misguided people appeared to have such a growing conviction of the folly of perpetuating strife, that the time seemed not distant when they should

Turmoil throughout the Navigators' Group.

become accessible to the voice of reason and religion, and when the blessings of peace and social order should once more prevail throughout the group."

Popery in the Navigators' Islands.

In 1845, a French vessel, with four Roman Catholic priests on their way to the Tonga Islands, touched at Lepa, in Upolu, and sought there all the information they could get respecting the Samoans, particularly whether they were attached to the Protestant missionaries, and whether they would likely give a good reception to Roman Catholic priests. Next year two Roman Catholic priests, accompanied by two Samoan proselytes to Romanism, landed from another French vessel on Savaii, and went thence to Upolu; and not long after, other priests arrived, and all set vigorously to work to overthrow Protestant Christianity on these islands, and to establish there the power of the Vatican. They seized every opportunity to malign the missionaries, and to misrepresent their motives and proceedings, and tried hard to make the natives believe that Roman Catholicism is the only true religion, perfectly disinterested, profoundly benevolent, scattering all sorts of blessings among men, without accepting any temporal offerings in return. They also behaved so gravely, and gently, and meekly, as almost to command respect from the very missionaries themselves; and they soon won a few proselytes from among the heathen, and from among a somewhat numerous class who still remained blindly attached to a system little removed from heathenism; but they made no impression on the instructed and Christianized portion of the population, but, on the contrary, were often silenced, if not put to shame, by the pertinent appeals which these made to the word of God.

Wesleyanism in the Tonga Islands.

The Tonga, or Friendly Islands, as related in the seventh chapter of this volume, were taken in charge by the Wesleyan missionaries, and soon began to receive some impression from the Gospel. Taufaahau, the chief of Vavaoo, who assumed the title of King George, soon espoused the cause of the missionaries, and made vast efforts, some of

them of a very questionable kind, to promote it. One of his measures of most consequence was the promulging of a code of laws, which though deeply tinctured with barbarism, recognizes, clearly and broadly, the connection between Christian principle and social improvement. He places together, in one statute, murder, theft, adultery, and the selling of ardent spirits. He enacts a severe penalty against suicide, or even an attempt at it, and says, "Should one die from taking poison, he shall not be buried in the Christian's burial-ground, or as a Christian." He directs that all his subjects shall attend to the duties of religion towards God, that they shall keep holy the Sabbath-day, by abstaining from their worldly avocations, and by attending to the preaching of the Word; and adds, that should any man "come to the chapel for the purpose of sport, or to disturb the worship—should he insult the minister, or disturb the congregation—he shall be taken and bound, and be fined for every such offence as the judge shall determine." Every person convicted of selling ardent spirits shall pay a fine to the king of twenty-five dollars, and be liable to have the liquor taken from him. In the case of a man, either living ashore or from on shipboard, being drunk, and causing disturbance, he shall be imprisoned, and for the first offence pay a fine of eight dollars, to be doubled if the misdemeanour be repeated. Should a person living on shore entice a seaman to leave his vessel, he shall pay a fine of eight dollars; and should any one know of such desertion or seducement, and not give notice, he also shall be fined according to the nature of the offence. Should a man leave his wife, and refuse to return, she shall claim his plantations, and whatever other property he may have possessed; and should a woman forsake her husband, she shall be brought back to him, and should she decline to remain, it shall not be lawful for her to marry so long as he lives. Penalties are also exacted against tattooing and other idolatrous ceremonies; against leaving the island in a clandestine

King George of Vavaoo's code of laws.

Enactments respecting desertion.

CHAP. XI. manner; against the attempt to enslave or sell any individual; and finally, against cutting down timber without liberty so to do. The king reminds his chiefs that it is his desire that his subjects should live in peace, and serve God in sincerity; and "therefore," says he, "I wish you to allow to your people time for the purpose of working for themselves, and that you divide to each of them land for their own use, that they may have means of living, and of contributing to the cause of God." It is further enacted, that in case of an Englishman or any other foreigner wishing to remain in the island, he shall be expected to obey the laws, and give aid in whatever way he may have the means towards the support of the government; and, in return, he is promised ample protection of both person and property. It is decreed also that no one shall be put to death except by the express command of the king—a prerogative which is not extended to any of the inferior chiefs, from whose number the ordinary judges are selected.

Enactments respecting foreigners.

This code must not have arisen merely from a general attainment of enlightened ideas, but must have acquired most of its laws, as well as the pains and penalties, from express suggestion by the missionaries; yet the establishing of it indicated a considerable advancement in civilization, and was justly regarded as a triumph of Christian influence over savage misrule and wickedness. King George, too, acquired a great increase of moral power by it, and thenceforth became strong to assist the missionaries not only in his own dominions of Vavaoo and Habai, but throughout the islands of the group. But he acted far too much as partizan and a warrior, and a good deal likewise from motives of personal ambition. Captain Wilkes of the American Exploring Expedition visited Tongataboo in 1840, and found a fierce war raging there between a Christian party headed by King George, and a heathen party headed by their own chiefs; and having obtained confidential access to the leaders of

King George of Vavaoo's power and activity.

both parties, and made every inquiry in his power as to the real cause of the war, he became satisfied that it arose in a great measure from intemperate zeal for the suppression of heathenism, and partly from a desire of King George to obtain the sovereignty of the whole group. Captain Wilkes implies also, that a war which had occurred three years before had been of similar character. He seems, indeed, to implicate the missionaries—to say that they had somehow precipitated or abetted the hostilities; but as regards them, if he mean any more than that they were not infallible, that they were liable to make a mistake in judgment or a blunder in practice—especially if he mean that they in any sense sanctioned strife or bloodshed, in order to extend their mission—he is certainly mistaken.

Mistake respecting the Wesleyan missionaries.

At the time of Captain Wilkes' visit, the number of church-members in the Tonga Islands was 2500, the number of reputed Christians was 4500, and the number of the whole population was 18,500. He says, "It was impossible not to be struck with the great difference between these people and those we had just left in New Zealand. Nothing of the morose and savage appearance so remarkable there was seen. Here all was cheerfulness and gaiety; all appeared well-fed and well-formed, with full faces and muscles." And again he says, "The natives of Tonga, from the missionaries' accounts, are industrious and ingenious. Much attachment exists between husband and wife, and they are very fond of their children We were surprised at their (the children's) numbers, which gave a striking air of cheerfulness and gaiety to the scene, when they were seen in groups playing and practising many kinds of jugglery. As far as we observed, the Tongese are fond of amusements, and smoking tobacco is absolutely a passion with them. This is raised by themselves; the leaf is cut up very fine, and then rolled within a fine pandanus leaf, forming a cigar. The Christian party are not allowed to smoke, although they use large quantities

The social habits of the Tongese.

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of ava, made of the piper mythisticum, which has more intoxicating and deleterious effects than tobacco. . . . As a people, they may be termed warlike; and war-councils, making speeches, and drinking ava may be called the business of their lives. The women are said to be virtuous; their employments are to make tapa mats, baskets, &c., and do the house-work. The men cultivate the ground, and fish. The females are more in the habit of using lime-water and lime on their hair than those we have seen elsewhere. This application turns it red; but its chief use is to promote cleanliness. Of the ingenuity of the men we saw many proofs in their manufacture of boxes, baskets, and miniature canoes."

Popery in the Tonga Islands.

In 1840, two Roman Catholic priests visited the Tonga Islands, and spent nearly six months in one of the harbours, but were not allowed to take up their abode on any of the islands, or to make any attempt to propagate their creed. About two years after, a French man-of-war called at Vavaoo to demand, in the name of the king of France, explanation of King George of Vavaoo for having declined to receive the priests. The proceeding was conducted with great parade, and the captain asked the king and the chiefs "whether they had not heard what had been done at Tahiti and other places by the French." Roman Catholic priests were afterwards landed there and in Tongataboo in great force, and their labours were soon followed by a degree of success which the Wesleyan missionaries pronounced to be of "very threatening aspect." But before the close of 1850, "a severe check" was given to it, partly through the influence of extensive conversions from heathenism to Protestant Christianity, and partly by the labours of a native training educational institution on the plan of the normal and model schools of Glasgow. The priests got particularly alarmed at the school operations, and resolved to attempt something in the way of schools themselves.

Efficiency of the Protestant schools.

King George of Vavaoo's last excursion was an emi-

mently peaceful one—a visit to the opening services of a new chapel in the island of Uea; and his death occurred in November 1845, and is said to have been pleasing and hopeful, "with the name of Jesus on his lips." King George of Habai succeeded him, and was appointed Tui-kanokubolu, or sovereign of all the Friendly Islands, but is distinguished not less by his high political dignity than as a preacher of the Gospel.

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The Rev. Mr. Lawry's visit to Tonga.

The Rev. Walter Lawry, the general superintendant of the Wesleyan missions in Polynesia, visited the Tonga and the Feejee islands in 1847 and 1850; and the results of his observations, besides being inserted in the Missionary Notices, have been given to the world in two separate interesting publications. The sum of them in 1847, as regards the Tonga Islands, is, that "he found himself amongst a people, many of whom had become Christian; from whose dwellings, as he passed along, arose hymns of praise and thanksgiving to the one true God; who, in the religious meetings, encouraged each other to maintain entire devotedness to his service, by narrating his goodness in calling them out of darkness into his marvellous light; and whose king had not only embraced Christianity, but was also an eloquent and successful preacher of the Gospel;" but that, nevertheless, much remained to be done in order to complete the work of evangelization and civilization. In 1850, the general state of things continued to improve; the principal chief of one of the worst heathen districts, and upwards of a hundred of his people, had recently made public profession of Christianity; the king and queen at Habai were among the most exemplary and diligent of the church-members; and there were altogether on the Tonga Islands, in connexion with the Wesleyan body, 95 chapels, 43 other preaching places, nine European missionaries, eight other paid agents, 478 native teachers, 641 day-school teachers, 109 day-schools, 5,907 day-scholars, and 5,892 church-members.

Summary view of the Wesleyan missions.

Uea, or Wallis Island, is sometimes classed with the

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Tonga Islands, but might quite as well be classed with the Navigators' Islands, and is really far apart from both. It lies in south latitude 13° 24′, and west longitude 176° 1′, about 78 leagues west of Savaii. It is not a single island, as its name seems to indicate, but a group of nine islands, varying in circumference from one mile to ten miles, and surrounded by one extensive reef. The land is, in general, high and well-wooded, and the inhabitants are numerous. The Roman Catholic missionaries who were expelled from Tahiti took refuge on Wallis Island, but are said to have been stripped of all they possessed the moment they touched the shore, yet took fast footing, and soon made the place a centre of Roman Catholic influence in Polynesia. A French frigate of sixty-four guns lay some time there; a Roman Catholic dignitary, bearing the title of Bishop of Central Oceanea, took up his residence there; and the missionary priests went out thence, who planted the crucifix on the Navigators' Islands. The Wesleyans have a mission on Wallis Island, which in 1850 comprised three preaching stations, and eighty-six church-members; but this has been greatly embarrassed by the Roman Catholics.

Wallis Island.

CHAPTER XII

Recent History and Present Condition of South-Western Polynesia.

Ellice's Group—Depeyster Island—Number and Extent of the Feejee Islands—Customs of their Inhabitants—Capture of the Chief Vendovi—American Vengeance on Malolo for the Murder of two Officers—Extensive Triumph of Protestant Christianity among the Feejeeans—Intermeddlings of Popery with it—Expulsion of Christian Teachers from Tanna in the New Hebrides—Aggressions by the Crews of Merchant Ships on New Hebrides and New Caledonia—Ferocity and Cruel Customs of the Natives of these Groups—Renewal and Extension of Missionary Operations in New Hebrides—Persecution of Christian Teachers in New Caledonia—Adaptation of New Zealand to the Purposes of British Colonization—The several Colonial Settlements which have been made on it—Character of the Native New Zealanders—Insurrection against the Colonists, and Collisions with the British Troops—Proceedings of the Colonial Government—Progress of Religion.

A LOW coral island, called Ellice's Group, lies in south latitude 8° 30′ 45″, and east longitude 179° 13′ 30″. It is thirteen miles long, and upwards of seven miles broad, and comprises a ring of small islets situated on a reef, and surrounding a lagoon. The islets are sufficiently separated from one another to give the idea of a "group;" and are so well clothed with trees, as to be visible at the distance of ten or twelve miles. Two of the vessels of the American Exploring Expedition visited this place in 1841. The inhabitants then were supposed to amount to about 250; but though they evidently had had frequent communication with ships, they were in an exceedingly rude condition. Their only clothing was strips of matting;

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Ellice's Group.

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their chief ornaments were slips of pandanus leaf; their hair was bushy and long, and in one instance was gathered into five or six loose clubs, of similar appearance to large foxes' tails; and their only weapons were poles of cocoa-nut wood, pointed at one end, and knives made of small sharks' teeth, and inserted into a stick with gum and fine sennit.

Depeyster Island.

Depeyster Island, or Nukufetau, lies in south latitude 7° 56′ 11″, and east longitude 178° 27′ 32″, and is about eight miles long, and nearly eight miles broad. The two American ships visited this also. The inhabitants were estimated at 1000, and seemed near akin to those of Ellice's Group, but differed considerably in manners. They wore a cocoa-nut leaflet round the neck, apparently as a sign of amity; they had neat ear and neck ornaments of tortoise-shell and mother-of-pearl; they drove an eager barter for all sorts of iron articles, particularly hatchets and plane-irons; and they showed sure signs of having learned much evil from intercourse with ships. Their chief was a very fine-looking man, with prominent features, gay dress, and grave deportment, and was styled both the governor and the god of the island. Two of the natives were albinos—their skin reddish-white, their hair flaxen-white, their eyes light blue and exceedingly weak, their persons freckled and very tender, and their whole appearance anything but pleasing. Several other islands lie in the vicinity of Depeyster Island; and one of these was a discovery by the two American ships, and was named Hudson Island, in honour of their commander.

The Feejee Islands.

The Feejee Islands are briefly noticed in the seventh chapter of this volume; but they are much better known now than when that chapter was written; and they demand from us here a somewhat extended notice. The American Exploring Expedition employed its whole resources upon them during three months of 1840, and gave to them more attention and labour than to any

other of the Polynesian groups. The islands comprise two large ones, Viti-Levu and Vanua-Levu, each about ninety-six miles long; sixty-three other inhabited ones of various sizes, from a mile or so to twenty-eight miles in length; eighty-five uninhabited ones, and a great multitude of reefs and shoals. They present all the variety of height and contour which arises from a mixture of the volcanic and the coral formations; and in general are so beautiful, that a stranger, on approaching them, would suppose them to be the abode of any class of men rather than savage, ferocious, and treacherous cannibals. One of the highest and most picturesque is Ovolau, situated a short way east of Viti-Levu, eight miles long, and seven miles broad, all lofty and rugged in the interior, with small short valleys round the coast, containing little level ground, but exceedingly fertile, and under good cultivation. The harbours are all formed of coral reefs, and afford similar security to that of artificial docks. CHAP. XII. Their physical character.

We take the following epitome of the information supplied by the American Expedition respecting the Feejeeans, together with a notice of two chief incidents of the squadron's intercourse with them, from the last edition of "Voyages Round the World, from the time of Captain Cook to the present time:"—"The inhabitants of the Feejee Islands amount to about 130,000; and are assured cannibals, and more infamous for cruelty and treachery than any other Polynesians, excepting perhaps those of Byron's and Drummond's islands. They comprise a number of tribes, and are classified, in all, into kings, chiefs, warriors, landholders, and slaves. The higher classes are tall and symmetrical; the middle classes also have a fine appearance, and are generally above medium height; but the slaves are meagre and abject, and exhibit abundant results of living in lowest thral among barbarous masters. The chiefs pay vast attention to their beard and hair, and think them their greatest glory. Their barbers are men most eminently Their inhabitants.

CHAP. XII. professional, and must not demean themselves by doing any act out of their profession, not even lifting their own food to their mouth. The hair is frizzled, and made to stand erect, to the height of several inches, and it is then enveloped in a winding of tapa, as fine as tissue paper, to protect it from the dust. The chiefs also wear tapa round the loins, and paint the naked parts of their body with black and red pigments, and wear round the neck a shell or a necklace made of beads, whales' teeth, or the human teeth taken from the victims of their cannibal feasts; and altogether spend much time in ornamenting their persons, and 'will sit for hours with a small sixpenny looking-glass, admiring themselves with great delight.' The middle classes and the women vie with them in the pigment decorations; and all vie with one another in smearing themselves with cocoa-nut oil, in boring and distending their ear-lobes, and in wearing ear-pieces of tapa, wood, and shells. The women alone, however, practise tatooing, and regard it as a passport to the other world; and they wear round the waist a sort of ornamental band, made from the bark of a tree.

Costume of the Feejeeans.

Their war-customs.

The Feejeeans esteem war the most honourable of all occupations; and they commence every war in a formal manner, by announcement and acceptance of a message of defiance, yet always mix their hostilities with vile perfidiousness and horrid trucculency. All prisoners of war are doomed to death as sacrificial victims, and as the subjects of cannibal feasts. The eating of human flesh is probably restricted to the flesh of these, yet seems to be practised from habit and taste, and possibly may sometimes be gratified at the cost of butchering slaves. The pagan rites are inexpressibly shocking—absolutely diabolical. The death of a chief is celebrated by the sacrifice of his slaves, his children, and his wives. Few persons, however, die a natural death, for all imagine that they will enjoy in the future state the degree of health and strength which they possess at their decease;

and all, in consequence, desire to die in prime condition, and therefore by violence. Parents, when becoming old, and dreading to become feeble, are strangled or buried alive, at their own request, by their children; and deformed children and persons accidentally maimed also are generally put to death. Yet in spite of their tremendous savageism and tremendous wickedness, the Feejeeans are still human, and occasionally, in remarkable circumstances, make displays of thought and feeling which 'show the work of the law written on their hearts,' and might almost be called roughly virtuous.

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Their dreadful savageism.

Six years before the visit of the squadron, a chief of the name of Vendovi, the brother of a king on the island of Viti-Levu, had enticed on shore the crew of an American brig, and murdered them. Captain Hudson of the Peacock, after having spent some time in surveying the island, and after having won the confidence of the king and chiefs, received an order from Captain Wilkes to capture Vendovi. He could not come at Vendovi himself; but, on occasion of a visit of the king, the queen, the chiefs, and their attendants, to the number of between seventy and eighty persons, he made them prisoners, and held them bound to use their influence to capture him. They consented; and two of the chiefs were let loose, and soon found him. He at once consented to accompany them to the ship; and there he confessed his crime, and was put in irons. The rest were then all set free; and when they rose to take leave of him, they were convulsed with grief. 'All the king's family shed tears and sobbed aloud while conversing in broken sentences with their brother. The natives shed tears also; and none but Ngaraningion (who was afterwards ascertained to have instigated the crime) remained unmoved. The king kissed the prisoner's forehead, touched noses, and turned away. The inferior chiefs approached and kissed his hands, whilst the common people crawled up to him and kissed his feet. One young man, who belonged to the

Capture of the chief Vendovi.

CHAP. XII. household of Vendovi, was the last to quit him; he wished to remain with his master, but was not permitted. In bidding farewell to the chief, he embraced his knees, kissed his hands and feet, and received a parting blessing from Vendovi, who placed both his manacled hands on his head. The young man then retreated backwards towards the ladder, sighing and sobbing as though his heart would break.' We may add, that Vendovi was sent in custody to the Vincennes—the flag-ship of the squadron—that he was kept there till the return of the ship, two years after, to New York, and that he arrived there in a state of far-gone disease, and was put in the naval hospital, and speedily died.

The fate of Vendovi.

The intercourse between the explorers and the natives, in another part of the group, was broken off by an incomparably worse affair than this of Vendovi. A party from the squadron went in three boats to the island of Malolo to endeavour to purchase provisions; and having had previous experience of the ill-will and perfidy of the inhabitants, those who remained in the boats held as hostage, the son of a chief, to insure the safety of those who went on shore. The hostage, by and by, was signalled from the land, and leaped overboard, and escaped. A shot was fired after him, yet not at him, but over his head; and immediately the natives, in revenge of the shot, or in outburst of their previous pent-up purpose of mischief, made fight upon the squadron's men who were on shore, and killed two of the officers, Lieutenant Underwood, and midshipman Wilkes Henry—the latter the nephew of Captain Wilkes. The party in the boats hastened to the conflict; but so suddenly did it pass, that they found not a foe, and could do no more than bring away the corpses of their comrades. Captain Wilkes selected a secluded sand-island, one of a beautiful little cluster, as the place of interment for the dead, and conducted the obsequies with affecting solemnity, and called the burial island 'Henry' and the cluster

Murder of two American officers.

to which it belongs 'Underwood Group;' and then concerted measures for making an awful retaliation on the natives. CHAP. XII.

Vengeance for the murder.

An armed force landed next day on the island sufficiently strong to destroy its towns. But they found one of these remarkably well fortified; and they encountered a desperate resistance with clubs, arrows, spears, and muskets; and not till the rockets took effect on the thatched roofs of the houses, were they able to effect an entrance. But the work of vengeance was more easily done on the water. Lieutenant Emmons, during the afternoon, in a single boat, with a crew of seven men, attacked five canoes with each eight warriors, and mastered four of the canoes, and killed twenty-five of the warriors. Next day a young female native appeared on the beach, bearing in her arms a white cock, an emblem of peace, and having near her different articles which belonged to the murdered officers. Captain Wilkes accepted these articles, but declined the peace offering; for he knew that the Feejeeans, when beaten in war, had a custom of sueing abjectly and publicly for mercy; and he sent one of his prisoners to announce to the natives the only terms on which he would put an end to his inflictions—that they would all come before sunset of the following day, and beg pardon on the shore. He duly landed, with his whole force, to wait the result. 'The day was perfectly serene, and the island, which a few hours before had been one of the loveliest spots in creation, was now entirely laid waste, showing the place of the massacre, the ruined town, and the devastated plantations. The eye wandered over the beautiful expanse of water, beyond and around, with the long lines of white sparkling reefs, until it rested, far in the distance, on the small green spot where they had performed the last rites to their murdered companions.' Toward four o'clock a sound of wailing was heard from a far distance, and gradually grew nearer; and at the same time the natives

Scene of devastation.

CHAP. XII.

were seen coming over the hills, and giving a painfully picturesque effect to the scenery. They reached the foot of the hills, and there stood fast, till they received an assurance that their suit for mercy would be heard; and on receiving this, about forty men advanced in a manner of profound abasement, crouching on their hands and knees, and occasionally uttering piteous moans and wails. When within thirty feet of the Americans, they stopped, and bent their heads to the ground; and an old man, their leader, in a most affecting manner, confessed their guilt, and supplicated pardon. He said that they would never again assail a white man—that they acknowledged themselves vanquished, and their island conquered—that their two greatest chiefs, and all their best warriors, to the number of fifty-seven, had been killed—that the survivors were bereft of houses and provisions, and all the necessaries of life—and that they were the slaves of the Americans, and would do whatever the American commander might desire. Captain Wilkes was now satisfied, and let the miserable creatures off; and in his narrative of the expedition, he went into a long vindication, as well he might, of the dreadful vengeance he inflicted."

Act of profound submission.

The seven kingdoms of Feejee.

The Feejee group, at that time, formed seven kingdoms — Bau, Rewa, Verata, Muthuata, Somusomu, Naitasiri, and Mbua. These, though closely similar to one another in character, had strong distinctive peculiarities, and separate or even antagonist political interests. All were not alike intensely savage or alike opposed to the introduction of civilization. The labours of the Wesleyan missionaries—of which some mention is made in the seventh chapter of this volume—came sooner to be eminently successful in some, and continued for years to make no impression on others. But by means of these labours, the Feejee islands, as a whole, have now undergone a wonderful change. Even in 1846, nine of the islands were wholly or mainly Christian; twenty-four,

including the two large ones, were partially enlightened by Christianity; several very influential chiefs, some of whom had been prominent in deeds of murder and cannibalism, were converts to the Gospel; 1278 natives were in the fellowship of the churches, and upwards of 2000 were stated hearers of the missionaries; and all the converts were more or less distinguished by a desire for decent clothing, a love of reading, and attention to the duties of domestic life. Yet the demon of war still ruled with destructive power in almost every part of the group; cannibalism was still practised to an awful extent; various crimes, of too dreadful a kind for disclosure, were still habitually committed; the mission to Somusomu was still next to a failure; and the mission to Rewa had just expired or fainted, time alone could tell which, amid an awful tragedy in which the king had been killed, his family taken captive, and the town utterly destroyed.

War among the kingdoms.

Mr. Lawry, the superintendant of the Wesleyan missions in Polynesia, on occasion of his official visit to the Feejee islands in 1847, formed a highly favourable opinion of their prospects. "The widely-extended influence of the press," says he, "the diligent attention to the education of the people, and especially to the children, wherever we get a station; the increased instruction afforded to the most hopeful of the native converts; the multiplication of these in all directions, where the people are willing or even anxious to receive them as teachers; and above all, under God, the successful preaching of the Gospel, and the consequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit, now most earnestly prayed for by the excellent missionaries scattered among the islands, cannot fail to overcome the power of Satan, and to set up in Feejee the kingdom of our God and of his Christ." Even in places where the missionary standard lay fallen and tattered beneath the tramp of infuriated warriors, some evidence existed that good impressions had been made. Rewa and Bau were in fierce mutual warfare; Rewa was agitated also by in-

Report on Feejee missions.

CHAP. XII. testine divisions, and the capital of Rewa had been rebuilt, and a second time destroyed, and the people driven to the mountains; but many of the sufferers both in Rewa and in Bau remembered keenly the instructions of the missionaries, and ascribed their present calamities to their past rejection of the Gospel.

Popery in Feejee.

The French Roman Catholics of Polynesia were quick to hear of the progress of Protestant Christianity in Feejee, and equally quick to devise measures for arresting it; and, as might have been expected, they commenced their efforts against it at Lakemba, where the Protestant missionaries had first landed, and had very signally triumphed. They made little or no impression for years, but at length were joined by a few abandoned Tongese, and then began to be troublesome. "The Roman Catholic priests and these Tongese," writes one of the missionaries in 1848, "are the principal opponents of pure Christianity in the place. The French Romanists have earned no very enviable distinction by assuming this position. The heathen in Lakemba have nearly given up all opposition to the truth, but the Romanists have stepped in to supply their lack of service. The Feejeean chiefs in general have, however, the utmost horror of both the French and Popery. The French have taught Feejee, and the world, many lessons of importance by their proceedings at Tahiti."

Failure of its efforts.

The priests, therefore, though causing the missionaries much annoyance and anxiety, got no success; and about two years later, when the king of Lakemba became a convert to the Gospel, they tried hard, but tried in vain, either to win him over to their own creed, or to turn him back to heathenism.

Bau is by far the most populous and powerful of the Feejeean kingdoms. The seat of it, indeed, is only a small island on the east side of Viti-Levu, but this has long been the residence of most of the great chiefs, and not only is the metropolis of its own kingdom, but also receives tribute from the kingdoms of Rewa, Somusomu,

and Lakemba, and exerts an influence far and wide through all the group. It also lies contiguous to the districts where heathenism still prevails in its most awful forms. Now here, happily, the missionaries have acquired a firm footing; and, in 1850, they even wielded strong influence over the young king Tiu-Viti, then called King of Feejee, and were making great efforts to gain him wholly to the Gospel, with the expectation that if he should formally renounce heathenism, fifty thousand of his subjects would speedily follow his example. He was already convinced of the truth of Christianity, and evidently under powerful impressions; and, as a first fruit of his convictions, he gave up the war which he had been carrying on for several years with Rewa. The dialect of Bau is the only one in which books have been printed, and is likely to become universal in Feejee.

The young king of Bau.

Another important district in which the missionaries have recently acquired influence is Rakerake, on the coast of Viti-Levu. This contains several towns, and affords access to many more. It was formerly governed by the most notorious cannibal ever heard of, who is said to have eaten during his lifetime the greater part of a thousand men, and who died about the year 1840. Some of this man's family embraced Christianity, and introduced four Christian teachers to an extensive field of effort. War, indeed, soon broke out, and drove two of these teachers away; yet this demon-evil exerted no such all-absorbing power on the natives as in bygone times, but left them heart enough to deplore the suspension of their new-found Christian privileges.

The great cannibal of Rakerake.

In the district of Nandy, great progress has been made by the missionaries, in the face of violent opposition. The heathens of the neighbouring district of Solevit got up a warlike expedition to invade Nandy, to burn the mission premises, and to exterminate the Christians. The Christians heard of their coming, collected at the mission-house, formed a barricade for the defence of the women

Attack on the Christians of Nandy.

and children, and then went forth, with their young chief at their head, to meet the invaders on the beach. But the invaders were seized by a mysterions panic; "they felt," they themselves said, "as they had never felt before"—"they felt as though they had left their hearts behind them;" and after seeking an interview with the young chief, and endeavouring in vain to persuade him to renounce Christianity, they returned in shame and confusion to their own towns.

The main strength of the cause of Feejee evangelization and civilization is still within the kingdom of Lakemba. But the strength of it through the rest of the group is far from inconsiderable, and is rapidly increasing. In 1850 there were, in all Feejee, 51 chapels, 35 other preaching-places, 98 day-schools, 7 European missionaries, 58 other paid agents, 53 native preachers, 271 day-school teachers, 1993 church-members, 448 catechumens, and 2922 day-scholars.

Summary of the missions in Feejee.

Let us now pass to the New Hebrides. In August 1840, two European missionaries took post on the island of Tanna. They felt well encouraged to go thither by the hearty welcome which had been given to the visit of the lamented Williams on the day before his death at Erromanga, and by the subsequent ready reception of native teachers from Samoa. But they soon found that the island was all a pest-bed of excessive depravity, cruelty, and strife. Those of the natives, indeed, who lived immediately around them, showed some attachment to their persons, and some interest in their instructions, but all the rest regarded them with distrust and hatred. Several covert attempts were made to destroy them, and at length the chiefs of the interior pretended that they were the cause of a fatal disease then prevalent among the people, and demanded that they should leave the island. The natives in the vicinity of the missionaries were angry at this demand, and took up arms to resist it.

Persecution of missionaries in Tanna.

The chiefs of the interior then came down in force, determined, at whatever cost, to accomplish their will. The conflict was fierce and prolonged, but gradually became all-favourable to the invaders. At this awful juncture, the missionaries, after fervent prayer, resolved, with their wives, their little ones, and the native teachers, to quit the island in their small open boat, to be guided by their heavenly Father whithersoever he would, either to a watery grave or to some place of safety. They entered the boat at midnight, and set sail; but on reaching the mouth of the harbour, they encountered a tempestuous wind, and were obliged to go back and re-land on the spot they had left. In the morning, however, an American vessel appeared off the coast, and took them on board, to convey them to the Navigators' Islands.

Their flight from the island.

A dreadful evil in the New Hebrides, and also in New Caledonia, and in some other parts of Polynesia, is plundering, cruel, truculent aggression on the natives by the crews of merchant-ships from Europe and America, and especially those in quest of sandal-wood. The natives in general are willing to barter the productions of their country on very easy terms, but many crews take forcible possession of these, without asking leave or offering compensation; and when found fault with or resisted, they remorselessly add other wrongs to their robbery, and even hunt down and butcher the natives. The murder of Williams and Harris at Erromanga is now well known to have been occasioned by a determination of the inhabitants to revenge on white men profound injuries done to them by the crews of ships; so that these lamented missionaries, properly speaking, did not fall martyrs for Christianity, but fell victims to the wickedness of European and American traders. And not long after their death, the crews of three vessels landed in company at Erromanga, set about the old work of spoliation, made fight upon a body of natives who resisted them, slew many on the spot,

Reason of the murder of the missionary Williams.

CHAP. XII. chased others to a distant cave, choked up the mouth of the cave with wood, set fire to it, and either suffocated the fugitives or burnt them alive.

The exasperating effect of such atrocities on the savage inhabitants is tremendous; the more so as they are of frequent occurrence, and form a main feature of European intercourse with the sandal-wood islands. So late as 1848, the missionaries wrote respecting Erromanga: "Our prospects for that unhappy island are as dark as ever. The natives now use every scheme to get foreigners within their reach. They come off swimming with one arm, concealing a tomahawk under the other, and with a bag of sandal-wood as a bait. While the bag is being hauled into the boat, they dive under the keel, tip it over, and then strike at the white men with their tomahawks. They have taken several boats lately in this way. The Elizabeth, Captain Brown, a sandal-wood barque, went ashore last February in a gale in Dillon's Bay; it is supposed that all perished in the wreck except two, who reached the shore, but were killed directly. This savage state of things is not to be wondered at, as the sandal-wood vessels are constantly firing upon them. We know of some who, if they get a native chief within their reach, will keep him prisoner until the people fill boat-loads of sandal-wood for his release. We have heard, too, of natives being first mangled on board with a cutlass, then thrown into the sea and shot at. They call this redress for previous crime; but these are the very things which have made Erromanga what she is, and they are hindering our labours to a fearful extent in many other islands. It is difficult to check the reckless conduct of such men, but the Divine judgments are finding them out. There is evidently a curse upon the trade. During the last eighteen months alone, upwards of sixty of our own countrymen prosecuting it have been cut off by massacres and shipwreck."

Awful state of Erromanga.

Atrocities of the sandal-wood traders.

But even apart from exasperations, the savages of New

Hebrides and New Caledonia are at least as ferocious as the Feejeeans, and have equally horrid customs. They are cannibals of the worst kind, and can perpetrate treachery and murder under circumstances of very trivial temptation. The inhabitants of one of the islands, not long ago, met in full assembly round a shipwrecked crew, heaped apparent kindness on them, formed them into a procession, and at a preconcerted signal massacred them all, for no apparent reason whatever but to appropriate their clothes and eat their flesh. The savages of these parts also bury alive their aged relatives in the same way that the Feejeeans do: and they likewise bury alive some of their children and all delirious persons. A young man on the island of Fato, a few years ago, became delirious, and was buried alive, but burst open the grave, and escaped: he was caught, and buried again, but succeeded a second time in struggling up to the surface; and then he was dragged into a wood, and bound fast to a tree to die.

Dreadful savageism in the New Hebrides.

The missionaries, however, have not been deterred by any of these horrors from renewing and carrying on their efforts for the enlightenment of the New Hebrides. In April 1845, two of them sailed westward from Upolu, in the missionary ship, John Williams, in charge of fifteen native teachers. They touched at several islands before reaching the New Hebrides, and left teachers on some of them; and on arriving at Tanna, they received a most cordial welcome, and had the gratification of placing four new teachers there under every possible encouragement. They then went to Nina, and placed two teachers on that island. They next proceeded, with beating hearts, to Erromanga, but concluded, from the behaviour of some of its inhabitants who came off to them in canoes, that they could not safely attempt to set foot on its shores. They next steered to Sandwich Island, which lies about fifty miles north-west of Erromanga. This is a large and beautiful island, teeming with a population of noble aspect,

Renewal of missions in these islands.

CHAP. XII. gentle in their manners, and speaking a language in close affinity to the Samoan. A horrible tragedy had been enacted there only about a year before by sandal-wood traders, in an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women, and children; but this did not deter the inhabitants, as similar events had so often done in other islands, from giving the missionaries a hearty reception. Four native teachers were placed in different districts, with the cordial good-will of both chiefs and people.

Sandwich Island.

Before the close of 1848, three of the teachers thus left on the New Hebrides fell victims to the brutal violence of the people; and thirteen more teachers, together with three European missionaries, still undeterred by the extreme savageness of the region, either joined the old stations, or took post at new ones. In 1848, also, a missionary from Samoa, two missionaries from Nova Scotia, and a band of native teachers, broke ground on the fine island of Anatom. This island lies in south latitude 20° 10′, and east longitude 170° 4′, and may be regarded as the key of the southern part of the group. It measures about thirty-five miles in circumference, and contains about 2500 inhabitants. The missionaries found it in the lowest state of barbarism, but went all round it, and were everywhere well received—insomuch that the whole population expressed a wish to go under their instruction. Some Popish priests were on the island, but had got little or no encouragement. About the same time, also, four natives of Erromanga were induced to go in the missionary ship to Samoa, and there they took well to the society of the Christians, and submitted to begin a course of instruction, with the view of becoming qualified to introduce a band of Samoan Christian teachers to the confidence of the desperate savages of their native land.

The Island of Anatom.

The New Caledonia group has shown fewer gleams of light amid the dense darkness of its savageism than even the New Hebrides. The Isle of Pines, situated near the southern extremity of its main territory, is perhaps its

New Caledonia.

worst region. But both there and on the main island native teachers were stationed by the London Society's missionary ship in 1840. Matuka, the chief, indeed, was fierce, covetous, and treacherous, and was not easily induced to treat the teachers with entire favour; but he at length took, or seemed to take, a hearty liking to them; and "for a few months the mind's eye rests on the Isle of Pines as a missionary station, and sees the wild vine becoming trained, and buds and blossoms swelling into existence, promising at no distant date to produce the first grapes sprung direct from the true vine." The missionary ship called again next year, and found everything tranquil and promising. But certain traders, soon after, visited the island for sandal-wood, deceived the teachers with forged letters in the name of the missionaries, asking them to render them assistance, and perpetrated among the people outrages of debauchery and murder. The natives became incensed against white men and Christians, but cunningly waited an opportunity for signal vengeance. The brig Star, under the command of the son-in-law of one of the senior missionaries of Tahiti, called at the island in the autumn of 1842. She had been there before, and had held amicable intercourse with the natives, and she now had large reason to expect the most friendly treatment. But while her captain and crew were on shore cutting timber, the people, at a signal from Matuka, rushed upon them, and slew them, and afterwards devoured them. And on a day in the early part of next spring, while the teachers and their families were separate from one another, some in the woods, and some at home, all were massacred, and some cooked and eaten, and others flung into the sea.

The Isle of Pines.

Massacres of white men.

Two teachers, Tauga and Noa, still lived and laboured in the main island of New Caledonia, and now made a series of escapes from martyrdom. The story of their sufferings is a simple one, yet can well bear to be told, for sake of the clear glimpse it affords of the struggle which

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goes on between Christianity and savageism. Matuka sent an earnest message to the chief of the district where they resided to kill them; and on finding that this was not attended to, he sent another, saying, "If you do not kill the teachers, I will come and kill and eat you." Not fewer than six or eight times were express attempts made to kill them. On one of these occasions, Tauga said to the assassins, "Come and kill us; you may stop our mouths in death, but you cannot stop the word of God; it will live and grow, and ye cannot hinder it." Struck with his calmness and courage, they said, "Behold that man! he is not afraid; it is because their God is strong: let them alone—let them live." The last attempt against them was made by two parties of the relatives of Matuka and others from the Isle of Pines. One of the parties, amounting to nine or ten men, headed by Uaisa, a nephew of Matuka, went to the teachers' house, and found Noa at the door. "When," said Uaisa, pointing to some graves near the house, "when will these men live again? You say they will live again? *When* will they live again?" "It is true," replied Noa, "they will live again; when the Son of God comes at the end of the world, they will live again, and all who have ever lived will live again, and be judged; and the righteous will live for ever in heaven in the presence of God, but the wicked will be cast into everlasting fire." "It is false," replied Uaisa; "they will not live again. How can they live again? Their bodies are gone to corruption, their bones are separated the one from the other; how can they live again?" Noa replied, "Wait, and you will see." Tauga, who was in the house, overheard the conversation, and came out, and invited the party to go in, that they might talk together there. They went in, and Tauga declared more fully to them the doctrines of the resurrection and the judgment. But they again cried out, "It is false." And immediately the other party, amounting to four men, three of whom were sons of Matuka, came running to the house, armed

Perils of two Christian teachers.

Cavils respecting the resurrection.

with hatchets, and entered. One of them took his station in front of Noa, the other behind Tauga. The former seized Noa with his left hand, and raised the axe above his head with the right, in readiness to strike the fatal blow. The latter stood over Tauga, and raised his axe in like manner. The two teachers, in the spirit of Him who was led as a lamb to the slaughter, bowed their heads, lifted up their hearts to heaven, and said, "O God! if it be Thy will that the hand of the heathen be upon us this day, save our souls," &c., and calmly waited the deadly blow. Buma, son of Matuka, who stood over Tauga, nodded an inquiry of their leader whether they should strike. But the leader made a sign to let them alone, the party immediately broke up, and the teachers felt themselves in the same wonderful predicament as Peter did when he exclaimed, "Now I know of a surety that the Lord hath sent his angel, and hath delivered me out of the hand of Herod, and from all the expectation of the people." Escape from martyrdom.

In 1845, the missionary ship took away Noa and Tauga from the scene of their constant perils, and placed the latter at Mare. The Protestant missionaries seem to have pronounced New Caledonia as deliriously savage, and as indefinitely hopeless as the Marquesas and Erromanga; and though afterwards invited back to it by some apparently favourable occurrences, did not think these fair enough to be trusted. In 1849, however, there were in that country, and in Anatom, no fewer than from eighteen to twenty agents of Popery.

New Zealand has been traced down, in the tenth chapter of this volume, to the date of its being constituted a British colony. It was then thought to be an eminently eligible field for emigration. Its coast line is exceedingly great as compared to the extent of the interior, and is indented at frequent intervals by large, convenient, natural harbours. The climate is mild, equable, and healthy. High winds are more frequent than in Europe; but, though New Zealand.

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sometimes injurious to crops, are decidedly beneficial to cattle and men. Earthquakes also are of very frequent occurrence; and one of them, in November 1848, was strong enough to lay level nearly all the stone and brick buildings at Wellington; but sultriness, thunder, lightning, and parching droughts, are unknown. Herbage is green and luxuriant all the year round, so as to afford constant pasturage for flocks. The landscape is a rich variety of flats, valleys, undulations, terraces, hills, and broken surfaces, everywhere backed in the distance by lofty mountains, some of which are capped with snow. Some tracts are covered with fine grass, some with the *Phormium tenax*, or New Zealand flax, some with gigantic ferns, and some with dense evergreen forests; and the whole country is interlaced with streams which abound in beauty, and quickly descend in falls to the coast.

Its landscapes.

Yet there are some serious physical obstructions to the progress of colonization. The soil in many places is very shallow, and very easily exhausted. The flax lands are mostly swamps, and the plants on them are from five to ten feet high, and have stiff, long leaves, with edges like knives. The fern lands cannot be penetrated without risk of a man's losing himself in them, and the certainty of having his clothes torn to pieces. The forests are so matted with creepers, that a man cannot move in them except on foot, and must often leap from root to root in order to avoid stepping into deep puddles which collect in the interstices. "So thick are the creepers and supple-jacks," says Mr. Brees, the surveyor, "that I have frequently been bound up by them like the lion in the net, and compelled to call out to my men to come and cut me out with their bill-hooks. Then there are mossy dells, filled with leaves and branches of trees. I remember to have once slipped in making my way down a gully filled with trunks and branches, and I am certain I sunk through thirty or forty feet of vegetable matter, which might have been collecting, for what I know, ever since the deluge.

Its forests.

All this is very romantic and enchanting, but how does it suit a farmer? Then the beautiful meandering streams are constantly in the way; sometimes overflowing the banks, and reducing all the level land to the condition of swamps, covered with the most inveterate flax, the edges of which are almost as sharp as a razor. Sometimes the stream is dammed up by blocks of trap rock which refuse to wear away; the consequence is a basin deep enough to float a seventy-four gun ship, which it is necessary to pass round." In fact, scarcely any districts of the country, not even excepting the best known and the most easily accessible, can be traversed except along the beaten tracks of the natives. An enormous proportion of the vegetation, too, is of so coarse a nature as to yield by its decay no fine vegetable mould—very little pabulum for any kind of crops. Even so many as two-thirds of all the species of indigenous plants are cryptogams, and the ferns alone are so predominating as to give their dingy brown hue to the country almost or quite as much as the common heath does its dark russet colour to the mountains of Scotland. Nor is the animal kingdom there much better; for it comprises no mammals, except a bat and a mouse, not many kinds of birds, no snakes, and but a small aggregate bulk of all other sorts of land-inhabiting animals; so that the amount of fertilization from excrements, exuviæ, bones, and carcasses, is trivial. Even mineral ameliators of soil are not plentiful; and lime, the most important of them, is not to be had at some of the most important settlements. Altogether, New Zealand is physically in so young a state, that Dieffenbach, one of only three naturalists who have succeeded in penetrating to its central lakes and mountains, says that we have attempted to colonize it a thousand years before its time.

Its vegetation.

The colonization of it, nevertheless, has been going vigorously forward. Wellington, the first settlement of the New Zealand Company, situated at the southern extremity of the Northern Island, and slightly noticed

Its colonization.

CHAP. XII. toward the close of our tenth chapter, looks to be a place of high permanent importance. Port Nicholson, at which it stands, is the harbour of deposit and export for a line of coast from East Cape to Kawai, and possesses such noble advantages as will probably make Wellington the commercial metropolis, not merely of New Zealand, but of all our Australasian territories. The country around it, however, comprises little open or available land, and is chiefly occupied by dense forest.

The Bay of Islands.

The Bay of Islands, near the northern extremity of North Island, was the favourite retreat of the early white settlers in New Zealand, and was chosen in 1840 as the first seat of the colonial government, and as the site of a town of the name of Russel. But it is now remarkable rather for its old associations, and as a permanent seat of great missionary influence, than for any prominent connexion with the process of colonization. The town of Auckland was founded, toward the close of 1840, on the estuary of the Houraki, or frith of the Thames, on the east side of the North Island, as the capital of the colony. The region around it has a volcanic appearance, and a comparatively poor soil, with great profusion of ferns, yet excels most other districts of New Zealand in openness to both the farmer and the traveller, and in facilities for internal communication.

The Nelson settlement.

Nelson was the second settlement of the New Zealand Company, and was founded in September 1841. It is situated on Blind Bay, at the north end of the Middle Island. The land belonging to it was divided into one thousand allotments of one town acre, 50 suburban acres, and 150 rural acres each. The town stands in a sheltered basin, and enjoys much calmer weather than most other parts of New Zealand; but the surrounding territory is principally poor fern land. Wanganeei is the settlement next to Wellington, situated in a beautiful country, and containing the town of Petri, but hitherto much harrassed by the broils of the natives. New Plymouth stands on the southern part of the west

side of the North Island, in what has been called the Garden of New Zealand—a district with fertile soil, picturesque surface, and superb climate. Banks' Peninsula, on the east side of the Middle Island, has long been a favourite resort of whalers; and there are the small settlement of Akaroa, founded by the French, and Port Cooper, now called Victoria; and on a vast grassy region inland from it are the Church of England settlement of Canterbury and the town of Lyttleton. The country toward the south of the same side of the Middle Island, between Port Otago and the Matou, Molyneux, or Clutha river, is the Free Church of Scotland's settlement of Otago, founded in 1847, comprising every variety of land, with the town of Dunedin at its north end, and with ample facilities of communication. There are several other settlements, of various character, particularly on the northern and western shores of the North Island; but those we have enumerated are all the chief ones; and whether viewed individually or collectively, or whether in reference to their arrangements, their wealth, or their population, situated as they are "at the ends of the earth," in a land which was so recently all savage, they afford a very striking instance of the energy and magnitude of modern enterprise.

Canterbury and Otago.

The native New Zealanders, especially when dealt with in the considerate and benevolent way which is indicated in our tenth chapter, could scarcely have been expected to offer any serious obstruction to the progress of colonization. They are so few in number, and have so little availed themselves of the natural advantages of soil and climate, that they cannot be said to have taken possession of the country which they call their own. Most of it is still the uninvaded dominion of nature, and they are merely a handful of stragglers who wander about its outskirts. They have no arts or manufactures which minister to wealth and comfort; no commerce, domestic or foreign; no distribution of the people into trades and

The native New Zealanders.

CHAP. XII. professions; and no coin or circulating medium. They occupy only a few scattered patches of country by the sea-side, or along the courses of the rivers; and their villages are merely small groups of hovels, that dot the earth like so many mole-hills, hardly affording a shelter from the weather.

Their appearance and manners. The appearance of the natives, too, and the state of their personal accommodations, distinguish them almost as much from the people of a civilized country as if they were another species. There is said to be a wild unsettledness in the very expression of their countenances, which assimilates them to a troop of predacious animals. They have, in most cases, a profusion of fantastic decorations painted or engraven upon their bodies, while clusters of baubles dangling around them, combined with coloured earth, grease, filth, and even vermin, complete the humbling spectacle. Their food is coarse, and their cooking rude to a degree that almost takes from it the right to be called by the same name with the art which, in a civilized country, heightens the enjoyment of the poorest man's meal with no inconsiderable variety of preparation. Their furniture is equally scanty and inconvenient. Generally speaking, they have neither tables nor chairs; their beds are usually the floor; and their covering for the night the same mats which serve them as clothes during the day. Unacquainted with the useful arts, the savage has rarely made any progress in those which improve the taste or elevate the imagination. His ignorance of letters, too, keeps the community almost in the same situation with a herd of the lower animals, in so far as the accumulation of knowledge or intellectual advancement is concerned. The New Zealanders, for example, seem to have been in quite as enlightened a state when Tasman discovered the country in 1642, as they were when Cook visited them after the lapse of 127 years.

Their ignorance of letters.

But it is not to be imagined that they are incapable of being civilized. Ferocious as they are, their habits and

feelings are not more beyond the reach of improvement than were those of the ancestors of the most polished nations of Europe; and it deserves notice, that, with all their savage propensities, they are possessed of many high qualities, both moral and intellectual. The means, too, which are actually employed for their elevation in social life, are unquestionably the most gentle and efficacious that could possibly be devised. Knowledge is merely offered to those who may be pleased to accept it; their prejudices are opposed by argument alone, not by violence or intimidation; the arts of civilization are simply transported into their country, and allowed to recommend themselves to the inhabitants through their utility and importance. This experiment can scarcely excite any re-action, or rouse any permanent jealousy, while every day that its beneficial effects are witnessed may be reasonably expected to add to its triumphs. The natives find not only their property improved, and their command over its productions increased, but its exchangeable value greatly augmented.

The means used for their social improvement.

We may add, that the earliest scheme for the accomplishment of this object was suggested by the celebrated Dr. Franklin. In the year 1771, only a few months after Cook's return from his first voyage, the American statesman, who was then in England, proposed that a subscription should be set on foot, in which he would join, in order to fit out a vessel which should proceed to New Zealand with a cargo of such commodities as the natives were most in want of, and bring in return so much of the produce of the country as might prove equal to the expenses of the adventure. But the principal object of the expedition was to promote the improvement of the people, by opening to them the means of intercourse with the civilized world. Franklin drew up a series of proposals for the conduct of the enterprize, accompanied with an address to the public; in which last he remarks that the island of Great Britain is said to have originally produced

Dr Franklin's project for civilizing them.

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only sloes, and that this fact may teach us how great and wealthy a country may become, even from the smallest beginnings, under the renovating influences of industry and the arts. He then proposes that the object to be kept in view should be to put the natives in possession of hogs, fowls, goats, cattle, corn, iron, and the other means of enabling and inducing them to exchange their roving, warlike life, for the peaceful pursuits of agriculture. It need not be added that the plan, owing to the difficulty of procuring subscriptions, or other causes, was never executed, and we now refer to it simply with the intention of showing that the wise suggestions it contains have been made the basis of the scheme pursued by those benevolent individuals who have carried to New Zealand the elements of knowledge, both divine and secular.

Failure of Dr. Franklin's project.

The New Zealanders have a striking eagerness to visit foreign countries, and to see with their own eyes whatever might gratify curiosity or prove subservient to usefulness. Even in the days of Cook this spirit of research displayed itself; and every one is aware of the difficulties which in more recent times have been overcome by these enterprising islanders in seeking an acquaintance with distant lands. Mr. Marsden remarks, "My opinion is, that if half the New Zealanders were to die in their attempt to force themselves into civil life, the other half would not be deterred from making a similar effort, so desirous do they seem to attain our advantages." It is well known, too, that they are proud to array themselves in the dress of Europeans, and endeavour, as far as they can, to imitate their manners, and even their modes of feeling and thinking. Nay, many of them understand the language of their English visiters, and are themselves fond of speaking it; while the desire for European clothes, blankets, tea, sugar, bread, and other comforts, has long been general in the neighbourhood of the missions.

Fondness for European dress.

The process of civilization in New Zealand has evidently commenced under very favourable circumstances.

The natives, so lately separated from the cultivated portion of their species, not more by their geographical position than by the deep barbarism in which they were involved, are now brought into the light of knowledge and religion, and are no longer ignorant that there are other pursuits than those of war, and other enjoyments than those of revenge. Christianity, which is in every sense of the word the religion of civilization, has gone forth among them attended by literature and the arts, and it is not possible that she should not eventually triumph over all the ignorance, prejudice, and ferocity with which she has here to contend. Such is the wild sway which her sublime faith is exercising over their rude minds, that it can hardly fail to restrain their destructive animosities, and abolish their sanguinary superstitions. Perhaps no feeling less ardent than a sense of religious duty could have supported the labourers in such a cause, surrounded by the difficulties and discouragements which met them at almost every step. But their task has gradually become easier and more cheering; while few gratifications can be equal to that which they must enjoy, when they contemplate as the fruit of their efforts under a benignant Providence, a general amendment of manners and a great increase of comfort among the savage people whom they had undertaken to instruct.

Influence of Christianity

Yet all these favourable circumstances in the condition of the natives—their fewness, their simplicity, their inquisitiveness, their love of European intercourse, and their partial evangelization—only mitigated, and did not prevent, hostile onsets on the colonists. Keen and various opposition was soon made by the natives at most of the early settlements; and this co-operated with the physical obstructions of the country, which we formerly pointed out, to render much of the work of colonization very harassing, and to mingle it with disaster and failure. They saw foreigners coming in by the thousand—not as the traders had done, to barter with them, still less as the

Opposition to the colonists.

CHAP. XII. missionaries had done, to instruct them—but to purchase their lands, to build fine houses, to make great changes on the country, and to walk about in dignity and splendour. They could not see these doings in any light of friendliness or good tendency to themselves; and as a few had seen and all had heard of regions where white men had exterminated races akin to their own, they concluded that the ultimate aims of the colonists must be highly suspicious. They were quite willing, indeed, to sell the lands to the company's agents for sake of the immediate benefits of the sale; but they had no nicely-defined boundaries, and often would not assent to the awards of the surveyors; so that, even in instances where their own interests were very fully consulted, they thought themselves over-reached, and refused to implement their bargains. Many large new bodies of settlers were meanwhile arriving, and demanded possession of lands which they had paid for at home; and they had no alternative, but either to forego their claims and be beggared, or to move in upon the natives under the imputation of being invaders and spoilers. The natives at length flew to arms; they commenced their onslaught by an appalling massacre at Wairau; and many of the settlers fled from the country in terror.

Perplexities in the sale of lands.

Scarcely one-fifth of the colonists at this time were to be found in landward parts. All the rest lived in Russel, Auckland, Wellington, and Nelson; and a large proportion of these had attempted to strike root by methods of speculation and trading, which were utterly inconsistent with the permanent well-being of the colony. A writer in the North British Review (February 1852), who seems to speak from personal knowledge, says, "The savings that had been accumulated in the mother country, with which to commence a new life of labour in this land of promise, were gradually dwindling away, and it soon became difficult to obtain the means of subsistence; this was the condition of families who were accustomed to

Imprudences of the colonists.

labour for their bread. Still more distressing was the case of the small capitalists who had conjured up visions of independence on these distant shores. This class included retired officers in the army and navy, who had commuted their pensions; younger sons from the higher classes, packed off by their relatives, after receiving their passage and outfit money, with a few hundred pounds besides; and a numerous class of adventurers, from all parts of the United Kingdom. Obliged to work with their hands when their purses became empty, they had in some instances to perform menial offices, while their want of skill in any trade placed them in the social scale below the mechanics. Among them might be found college-bred men working as labourers to builders, and sons of country gentlemen acting as sawyers to carpenters. Many a tale of suffering these helpless emigrants could divulge if their pride would brook the disclosure."

Disasters of the colonists.

All the colonists, in all parts of the country, were alarmed by the massacre at Wairau, and by the frequent aggressions of the natives; and they looked earnestly to the governor, Captain Fitzroy, but looked in vain, for some vigorous measures of protection. He had a strong theory about the necessity of extreme leniency to the natives, and could not be induced to give a bold check, by punishment or otherwise, to their violent hostility. They therefore took advantage of his forbearance, and proceeded to wanton outrage. Their greatest champion was Honi Heki, a chief of the north. This man, in the spring of 1845, spread havoc round the Bay of Islands, gave defiance to the government by repeatedly cutting down the British flag-staff, drove the troops from the town of Russel, plundered and burned that town, and afterwards, at a strong native-fort about twenty miles inland, stood at bay against powerful bodies of military, and twice repulsed them with heavy loss.

Insurrection under Honi Heki.

Yet the behaviour of the natives under Heki clearly proceeded from mistaken notions of patriotism, and was

CHAP. XII. mixed with many circumstances strikingly illustrative of their advancement in civilization. "Justice to the natives, misled and rebellious as they are," said the governor, in an official despatch, "requires me to state that European troops would not have behaved better, nor shown less vindictiveness. Acts of a chivalrous nature were performed by them; and their forbearance towards the settlers, especially the missionaries, was remarkable. No missionary, no mission property, known to be such, was injured intentionally." One of their acts, amid the heat of the conflict in the town of Russel, deserves to be specially mentioned. On getting possession of a block-house which had been raised for protecting the flag-staff, they found in it the wife and child of the signal-man; and they immediately hoisted a flag of truce, and sent these defenceless prisoners to the British stockade, saying, that "they warred not with women and children, but with men." Be it remembered, too, that these persons had grown up amid treachery and cannibalism, that probably some had shared and most had witnessed deeds of most horrible atrocity, and that few or none professed at that time to be Christians, some having sadly declined from their Christian profession, and others never having made one.

Chivalry of the insurgents.

Former atrocities of the natives.

Let us go back to the year 1836, and see how their countrymen then behaved to one another, and to the missionaries. Not fewer than a thousand natives were in arms, or following the footsteps of their sanguinary warriors, who, in proportion to their success in the fight, indulged the horrid propensities of cannibalism. A missionary observes that "the smell of their garments, and the packages of human flesh which some of them were carrying as presents to chiefs at a distance, quite tainted the atmosphere. It might appear like casting pearls before swine, to speak to the natives to-day, intoxicated as they were with blood; but I could not help warning different groups as I passed along, of the punishment

which would await their diabolical wickedness in another world. Who can describe the feelings of disgust and abhorrence which the whole scene was calculated to excite! Dead to all emotion, the victors, holding by the hair, shook in our faces the heads of their vanquished foes; directed our eyes to the bones and hands which they were carrying in bundles on their backs, and even offered us the flesh for food. A boy, not sixteen years of age, stuck up within two yards of our fencing a shrivelled human heart." The number of natives killed amounted to about four hundred, besides women and children, to whom, on such occasions, no mercy was shown. Nor were the insurgents content with the revenge which they obtained over the enemies of their tribe; they destroyed the missionary station at Rotorua, laid violent hands on the teachers, and plundered a similar establisument at Matamata.

Horrid cannibalism

Honi Heki's successes were followed by an extensive insurrection. Many natives joined him; messengers went from him to rouse other districts; the tribes at the southern end of the North Island broke out as furiously as the tribes in the north; and the entire colony for a time seemed on the verge of destruction. The imperial government, on hearing of the state of affairs, despatched frigates and war-steamers with fresh detachments of troops, recalled Governor Fitzroy, and appointed Captain Grey, lieutenant-governor of South Australia, to supersede him, with unlimited powers to quell the insurrection. But the tide of evil had already turned; and it soon ebbed totally away. Some of the native tribes, especially one headed by an intelligent Christian native, of the name of Thomas Walker Nene, took part with the British forces; others speedily tired of the insurrection, and submitted to the British authority; and the rest were so awed by the show of strength brought against them by Captain Grey, or so harassed by the consequences of prolonged neglect of their crops and constant living in the bush, that be-

Reaction among the insurgents.

CHAP. XII. fore the end of the spring of 1848, all laid down their arms.

Captain Grey appointed Governor-General.

"Captain Grey," says the writer in the North British Review, "was subsequently appointed governor-general of the New Zealand colonies, with a resident Lieutenant-governor at Wellington, and another at Nelson. His administration had been looked forward to with interest by all parties—the Colonial Office, the New Zealand Company, and the settlers.' As he obtained the appointment over the heads of older men, on account of his successful management of affairs in South Australia, great things were expected from him. He made changes in the legislative and also in the executive departments—whether or not for the better it is difficult to say. Being a soldier by profession, his ordinances for the suppression of the Maori war were carried into effect with more decisive energy than had been done by his predecessor, who was apparently a good-natured sailor. But with all his tact and shrewdness, he could not mend the constitution of New Zealand so successfully as he had mended that of South Australia. Here was a proud and powerful race of aboriginal proprietors on the one hand, with the government and the New Zealand Company acting as middlemen; and on the other, the broken down, dispirited, and duped settlers, who had parted with their money without securing an equivalent in land. It was in vain that the governor passed new acts, renewed and annulled ordinances, cajoled and threatened by turns; it was all to no purpose; there was 'something rotten in the state of Denmark.'

Effects of his administration.

"Yet his administration placed the local government on a more secure and organized basis, and soothed for a time the murmuring spirits of the colonists, who no longer annoyed the British Parliament with their petitions. His policy towards the interests of the New Zealand Company was likewise favourable. It was confidently supposed by them and the southern settlers, that he was using all his

endeavours to remove the seat of government to Wellington, which, of course, raised the ire of the northern colonists, who saw the injury they must sustain by the withdrawal of so much government expenditure. But any expression of their sentiments on this subject which was conveyed to him he answered with disdain. He assumed the tone of a dictator more than that of a responsible British governor, passing bills through his 'packed council' with unseemly rapidity. Three readings in one day without any previous notice, and next day's Government Gazette, announced that the proposed measure was a law of the land; so that the inhabitants of Auckland and the surrounding district in the year 1848, expected every day to see the announcement issued that the head-quarters of the government would be removed on the morrow to the south. If there was any truth in this surmise, the probability of carrying it into effect was suddenly thwarted in the November of that year by the earthquake at Wellington. The governor had just time to dub himself Sir George Grey, when he hurried off to the scene of destruction; all was consternation and distress there; many of the affrighted settlers had packed up what articles they could conveniently carry, and got on board the few vessels in the harbour, to take their departure for the shores of Australia. To add to the misfortunes of one shipload of these refugees, they were wrecked in the harbour before the vessel could get clear of the heads. No lives were lost, but the poor creatures were left penniless.

Rapidity of his legislation.

"Meanwhile the colonial minister, in conjunction with the local government, had organized a protective force on an economical scale, in lieu of the regular troops, whose maintenance in New Zealand was more than double what it would have been in the Australian colonies. A body of military pensioners, bearing the name of the New Zealand Fencibles, was formed. They were located in three separate divisions, within six and nine miles of Auckland, to be ready at all times to perform military duty in de-

Organization of the New Zealand Fencibles.

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fence of the colony. Hitherto they have not been employed on active service. We hope the day is far distant when the settlers shall have to place their lives and properties under the protection of that infirm and unsteady corps, against the assaults of young and able-bodied warriors, such as are to be found amongst their antagonists. The result of these measures has been the withdrawal of two regiments of infantry, a company of artillery, and a large commissariat staff from the colony. The expenditure of these troops during upwards of seven years was the mainstay of the northern settlements. This fact, coupled with a decreasing revenue, has already crippled the government, who are continuing to issue debentures for local disbursement; and should they fail to realize the means of redeeming them, we see nothing but bankruptcy staring the colony in the face." These remarks, however, do not apply to the settlements of Canterbury and Otago.

Withdrawal of the regular troops.

The progress of religion and civilization among the native New Zealanders since 1840, notwithstanding the untoward circumstances attending the progress of colonization, has been surprisingly great. If our space permitted, we could give many interesting details of it; but we shall merely state that Protestant Christianity, as taught by the missionaries of the Church Society, and by those of the Wesleyan Society, has almost entirely banished heathenism from every part of the country—that it has had severe struggles with the various influences of the worst of the colonists, and with extensive and vigorous opposition from Roman Catholic priests, but has almost wholly overcome them—that it constantly elicits from the communities of the native converts, in their public meetings and in their every-day conduct, such displays of high principle as would be ornamental to the most polished Christian people in the world—and that in 1850-51, the Church Missionary Society had in New Zealand 22 stations, 21 ordained European missionaries, 8 European

Progress of religion among the natives.

Statistics of the Wesleyan Missions.

catechists and teachers, 418 native catechists and teachers, and 5,701 communicants; and the Wesleyan Missionary Society had 16 principal stations, 109 chapels, 157 other preaching places, 20 European missionaries and missionary assistants, 354 native Christian teachers, 15 paid catechists and teachers, 484 Sabbath-school teachers, 7,271 scholars, and 4,422 church members.

CHAPTER XIII.

Recent History and Present Condition of Northern Polynesia.

The Kingsmill Islands—Drummond Island—Vengeance inflicted on the Drummond Islanders by Captain Hudson—The Badack Isles—Christmas Island—The Sandwich Islands—Enterprise of the Chief Boki—Introduction and Progress of Popery—Aggressions of Captain La Place, Sir George Paulet, and Admiral Tromelin—Progress of Education, Protestantism, and Social Improvement—The Parliament and Court of Tamehameha III.—Progress of Trade and Commerce—Depopulation of the Sandwich Islands, and of other parts of Polynesia—Early Moral Condition of these Regions—The Spirit and Meaning of their Pagan Institutes—Resemblances to the Rites of Ancient Palestine, Greece, and Rome—Relations of their Social Usages, of the Influence of their Chiefs, and of their Commotions and Wars, to the Reception of the Gospel.

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The Kingsmill Islands.

THE Kingsmill group extends from north latitude 3° 20′ 43″ to south latitude 1° 20′, and lies in east longitude between 172° 57′ and 174° 57′. The southern parts of it have been occasionally visited by whaling ships; other parts also have been repeatedly seen; but the group, as a whole, was very ill known till the year 1841, when the greater portion of it was surveyed by two ships of the American exploring expedition, under the command of Captain Hudson.

Fifteen islands, or strings of islets, are comprehended in the group. They vary in length from six to thirty miles. All are of coral formation, and have a general resemblance to the islands of the Low Archipelago. But some of them partly want the leeward reef, many are flanked by sandbanks on their leeside, and all seem to

be fast wasting away by the action of the sea during westerly gales. The highest land on them is not more than twenty feet above the level of the sea. They have a very shallow soil, and contain neither water, wood, nor produce of any kind in sufficient quantity to court the call of ships. CHAP. XIII.

The natives of these islands.

The inhabitants of these islands amount to about 60,000. They have a dark copper colour, and more nearly resemble the Malays than the south-eastern Polynesians. They are entirely heathen; and, in some instances, particularly on Drummond's Island, and on Byron's Island, they are furiously savage. About three-eighths of them are chiefs, about the same number are slaves, and the rest are an intermediate class. The government is simply patriarchal; and the succession to rank and property is hereditary. About two-thirds of the people worship a principal divinity of the name of Wanigain; and the rest do not acknowledge him, but have other deities. Some worship the souls of their departed ancestors, or certain fishes, birds, and land animals; and very many worship a female deity whom they suppose to kill and eat all children who die young. All believe that the dead pass into another existence—that they float in the air at the mercy of the winds, till they either reach an elysium or come under the doom of a huge giantess—that only tatooed persons, and chiefly grandees, can go to the elysium—and that there they pass their time in feasting, dancing, and the full enjoyment of whatever they delighted in on earth. All the people are very fond of amusements. They make great preparations for public festivals, and spend much time in them, and love them better than even the savage excitements of war; and they have at all times a great variety of games, such as foot-ball, fencing, flying kites, swimming in the surf, and sailing small canoes. They live principally on sea-animals, from the whale to the sea-slug, and very largely on fishes, and all sorts of molluscs

Their amusements and festivals.

CHAP. XIII. and crustaceans. Their canoes are larger and better built than those of most other parts of Polynesia; and their houses, though constructed of very unsuitable materials, are remarkably spacious, strong, durable, and even elegant.

Drummond Island.

Drummond Island may be selected as the most striking specimen of the Kingsmill Islands. It is the most southerly of the group, lies most in the way of whalers, and was the scene of the most stirring incidents connected with the visit of the American surveying ships. Its length is thirty miles, and its breadth above water is only from half a mile to three quarters of a mile; but, inclusive of the reefs and sandbanks on its lee-side, is, in some places, six and a half miles. The surface is covered with cocoa-nut trees and pandanus trees, but contains not a patch of grass, or any sort of coppice or underwood. The whole west shore is occupied with houses, and may be called one continuous village.

The natives of Drummond Island, as we have already hinted, are exceedingly savage. Most go quite naked; and the rest wear chiefly a sort of girdle, which serves no purpose of decency. They are a lawless race, with scarcely any government, seizing whatever property they can, and practising neither hospitality to strangers nor kindness among themselves. They live in clusters or gangs, seemingly around the greatest bullies or most bloody ruffians; and are so often and fiercely at war with one another, that a large proportion have numerous scars and many unhealed wounds. Their weapons are clubs, about four feet long, made from cocoa-nut wood, and pointed at each end; swords, made of sharks' teeth, and fitted to inflict severe gashes; short spears, armed with half a dozen barbs from the tail of the stingray, which are supposed to prove fatal if broken off in the wound; and long spears, of from eight to twenty feet in length, terminating in three prongs, each armed with four rows of sharks' teeth. But formidable though these weapons

Weapons of War.

are, the warriors wear a defensive armour, which perfectly protects all parts of the body except the face and limbs. This comprises a helmet, consisting of the skin of the porcupine fish, cut open at the head, and stretched to a sufficient size to admit the head of a man; a cuirass, made of plaited cocoa-nut fibres, as stiff as a coat of mail, covering all the trunk of the body, and rising three or four inches above the back of the head; and pairs of overalls of the same material, with fastening straps for the arms and legs.

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Crowdedness of population.

The population of the island was computed by Captain Hudson at upwards of 10,000—a greater number per square mile than in almost any other part of the globe, which relies wholly on its own resources; and notwithstanding the appearance of one continuous village along the shore, they were segregated into fourteen towns, four of which appeared to form a kind of confederacy against the rest. Those of the frontier town of this confederacy, called Utiroa, came most in contact with the American visiters. They had eminently the bad qualities which we have ascribed to the whole population, and, at the same time, seemed to presume most audaciously on their numbers and courage. An opportunity was taken, in the presence of a large number of them, to show that their defensive armour was not proof against the American weapons; but they paid little regard to the holes made in it, and continued to show as boldly as ever their treachery, ferocity, and thirst for blood. Large parties of the Americans, well armed, and using every precaution, went ashore among them, and were rudely treated; and, on one occasion, one of their most correct and prudent men, armed with musket, pistol, and cutlass, went only a moment aside from his comrades, and was instantly kidnapped, and never again heard of.

Kidnapping of an American.

Captain Hudson, after using means to get intelligence, and waiting a proper time for it, could make no doubt that this man was treacherously murdered. He therefore be-

CHAP. XIII. lieved it to be a paramount duty to punish the people of Utiroa, in order to deter them from practising any similar perfidy on the crews of other vessels which might touch at the island. About eighty officers and men went off in seven boats. About 500 natives stood ready on the beach to confront them, and others were pouring in, all fully equipped with their grotesque weapons and cumbrous coats of mail, and presenting a very savage, and, at the same time, very ludicrous appearance. A parley was made with them, but without any good effect. A rocket was discharged among them, and caused great confusion; but they speedily rallied, stood firm again, and brandished their weapons in defiance. A general volley was then fired at them, and all instantly retreated, some in great haste, but others deliberately, and carrying off the wounded and dead. Twelve had perished; and the boldest of the survivors skulked among the cocoa-nut trees, and kept beyond the range of the guns. The Americans went unopposed to the town, and set fire to it, and in the course of an hour destroyed about 300 houses, tore down the fences, and reduced the cocoa-nut groves to desolation. A small party of natives then came to them from the nearest of the ten towns with which Utiroa had been at enmity. All these were unarmed, and had cocoa-nut leaves and mats tied round their necks. They came to court the good-will of the Americans, and to assure them of their joy at the destruction of Utiroa. One of them, an old man, expressed his feelings with much laughter and many grimaces; and as soon as they understood that no evil was meditated against themselves, they began to pillage the burning town.

Vengeance on the kidnappers.

The Badack Isles.

A scattered group of islands, called the Badack Isles, extends north-westward from the vicinity of the Kingsmill group to north latitude 11° 23′ 15″. The Pescadores is the most northerly island of this group, and may be taken as a specimen of the whole. It lies in east longitude 167° 36′ 30″. It is of coral formation, of

triangular outline, and about thirty-two miles in circumference. It has no cocoa-nut trees or pandanus trees, and affords nothing of value except pearl oysters and turtles in their season. It has no human inhabitants, and is not capable of supporting any. Captain Hudson visited it immediately after leaving the Kingsmill Islands, and found that a boat's crew had either been murdered or made captive there, but had no doubt that the perpetrators of the deed were a transient fishing-party from some of the adjacent islands. CHAP. XIII

Christmas Island is a good and large specimen of low, solitary, uninhabited islands, which lie sprinkled in various regions of the Pacific. It is situated in north latitude 1° 59′, and west longitude 157° 30′. It consists of coral, and is difficult of approach. It measures upwards of sixty miles in circumference, has a triangular outline, and sends off one point covered with cocoa-nut trees to a considerable distance from the main body. It has no fresh water, but contains abundance of the sida plant, and abundance of lizards, land-crabs, hermit-crabs, quails, and a peculiar kind of boobies. Captain Cook landed on it in 1777 to observe an eclipse of the sun, and planted some yams, melons, and cocoa-nuts on an islet in the mouth of its lagoon. The officers of the Tuscan also landed on it in 1835, in the course of their voyage round the world, and took away from it a profuse supply of cocoa-nuts; but found that the plants left by Cook had all disappeared, and that about fifty fine cocoa-nut trees had been mischievously burnt and hewn down by some reckless sailors. Christmas Island.

The Sandwich Islands are the chief group of Northern Polynesia. They are eminent in the Pacific for their physical attractions, their sublime scenery, their blendings of magnificence with beauty, their display of stupendous volcanic phenomena, in accompaniment with the most graceful and luscious landscapes; and they will be seen, from the ninth chapter of this volume, to possess very high social, political, commercial, and religious interest. The Sandwich Islands.

CHAP. XIII. They have acquired vast increase in this interest, too, since that chapter was written. Cheever, in his "Island World of the Pacific," even says that the rate of progress during the seven years ending in 1850 "sufficed to effect a total revolution." We should quite sufficiently explain this progress were we only to say that it has arisen simply from the continued operation and augmented power of the causes of the previous prosperity; but we shall go back a short time in order to point out some things which have accompanied and tested it.

The chief Boki.

Boki, one of the greatest chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, accepted baptism at the hands of the chaplain of a French ship of war, previous to the arrival of the Protestant missionaries, and regarded himself as a Roman Catholic. He was the companion of Kamehameha II. to England, and the rival of Queen Kaahumana for the supreme power during the minority of Kamehameha III.; and in the former capacity he invited Roman Catholic priests to the Sandwich Islands, and in the latter protected them. Three priests arrived at Honolulu in 1827, and soon drew crowded congregations, and provoked a hot religious controversy. But in 1829, Boki was induced by the importunities of Kaahumana to join her in a strong attempt to check their influence, and near the close of the same year he set sail in the national brig Tamehameha, with a crew of 285 men, having in company the brig Karaimoku, with a crew of 100, for the island of Erromanga in the New Hebrides.

His expedition to the New Hebrides.

The object of this expedition was to establish a colony, after loading the vessels with sandal-wood for the China market. It is known that in the course of his voyage he touched at the island of Rotumah, situated in south latitude 12° 29′, and east longitude 176° 57′, whence he carried away 180 of the natives, with the view of augmenting the number of his settlers. He was never afterwards heard of, and it is believed that his ship blew up at sea, owing to the quantity of powder she had on

board, and the extreme carelessness of the sailors, who seem quite insensible to such danger. The Karaimoku reached Erromanga; but the warriors who landed suffered so much from sickness and the hostility of the inhabitants, that they speedily re-embarked, and directed their course to Honolulu. Their evil destiny continued to pursue them, for of the whole armament only twelve men, a woman, and a boy, returned to their native shore. The reader will not require to have the inference suggested to him, that such an undertaking evinces a considerable degree of enterprise on the part of the Sandwich islanders, who know how to estimate the importance of a mercantile marine trade and colonies. Boki, who was much devoted to the English, seems to have imbibed their spirit. He was the most popular of all the leaders, and hence, during several years after his loss, his countrymen cherished the hope that he was still alive, and would at length appear amongst them crowned with success.

Enterprise of the Sandwich Islanders.

During 1830, and some following years, strenuous efforts were carried on by the Hawaiian government to suppress Popery. The most prominent measure was the expulsion of two priests, the only ones then on the island. This occurred in December 1831. The priests had, nine months before, been ordered to go away, but would not go; and then they were forcibly put on board of an old brig, in presence of all the military force of Honolulu, and sent off to a secluded spot on the coast of California. But in 1837 they reappeared at Honolulu, reported their arrival to the authorities, and refused to obey an order to re-embark. The police took them on board a ship in the roadstead, two guns of the fort were pointed at the ship to prevent resistance, and there the priests lay imprisoned for seven weeks. At this juncture Captain Belcher in the Sulphur, and Captain (afterwards Admiral) Dupetit Thouars in the Venus, entered the harbour within two days of each other, and they used their united influence with the government to set the priests at liberty, on con-

Expulsion of Popish priests.

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dition that they would leave the islands by the first fair opportunity. One of the priests speedily found his way to Valparaiso, but the other died a few weeks after at sea. A third priest, ignorant of the fate of these, arrived off Honolulu, but was not permitted to land, and the few adherents of Romanism on the islands were subjected to increased severities for their opinions.

Hostile visit of Captain La Place.

In July 1839, Captain La Place, in the frigate Artemise, appeared at Honolulu to exact redress for the expulsion of the priests, which he announced to be "an insult to France and to her sovereign." But his real object here was at least as extensive as at Tahiti; or, perhaps, was principally to create some pretext for making a seizure of the islands. He therefore exacted a fine of 25,000 dollars for "the insult," wrung from the government an unlimited toleration of Roman Catholicism, went to the palace with about 150 men under arms, and there got up a celebration of mass, and finding that through the influence of the Protestant missionaries, wines and brandies, the staple productions of France, had been prohibited, he compelled the government to consent to the admission of these articles thenceforth at a duty not exceeding five per cent. Yet, as events have proved, he only forced priests and puncheons on the country, and did not gain any triumph for either Popery or intemperance. Sir George Simpson makes a terse remark in reference to the wines and brandies, which might be applied as well, with alteration of terms, to the Popish mummeries—"As La Place," says he, "neglected to provide for consumption as well as for exportation, as he certainly would have done in the event of his having thought of the precaution, he left, after all, the better half of a drawn battle in the hands of the enemy."

Futility of his proceedings.

In February 1843, Sir George Paulet, in the British ship of war Carysfort, appeared before Honolulu, and on account of real or alleged wrongs done to certain British subjects, demanded possession of the Sandwich Islands

for the British crown, threatening, in the event of non-compliance, to fire upon the town on the afternoon of the following day. The king had no efficient means of resistance, and perhaps no inclination to resist, and therefore he at once made cession of the provisional government of his kingdom, but at the same time declared that "as it had never been his intention to insult the queen of Britain, or any of her estimable subjects, he made the cession under protest, and would embrace the earliest opportunity of representing his case more fully to her Britannic Majesty's government, through his ministers, trusting in the magnanimity of the sovereign of a great nation, whom he had been taught to respect and love." He was not disappointed: the British government disowned the act of their servant, and not only repudiated the cession of the islands, but made a formal recognition of their independence. They stated, indeed, that they would expect, or if necessary, compel the king to redress all real grievances which might befall British subjects on his shores; yet they stated also that they would enjoin all their consuls and naval officers in the Pacific to treat the native governments with forbearance and courtesy, to make no harsh or unnecessary interference with their laws or customs, and to practise such general behaviour as might serve to strengthen their authority and confirm their sense of independence.

Seizure of the Sandwich Islands by Sir George Paulet.

Divine Providence thus overruled Lord Paulet's seizure of the Sandwich Islands for much good. That seizure did not differ greatly in itself from Dupetit Thouars's seizure of Tahiti, and for a time was cried down in the free states of America as a precisely similar atrocity; yet it led, as we have seen, to the sanctioning of the mission-born Sandwichian institutions by Britain, and it led also to the sanctioning of these institutions by France. Two plenipotentiaries had gone, only a few months before, from Tamehameha III. to the courts of Victoria and Louis Philippe, for the express purpose of soliciting from these

Results of that seizure.

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Recognition of Sandwichian independence.

powers a recognition of Sandwichian independence; and, had not the news of Lord Paulet's conduct followed them and superseded them, so as to engage all that attention which was properly due to their representations, they might probably have got small success. But "the islands were suffered by Divine Providence to be taken by the commander of the one nation, acting without the instructions of his government to that effect, that both the rival powers might be convinced of the importance of these islands maintaining an independent neutrality, and that the French king, especially, might be induced to come into the mutual bond for their independence with the English, when he saw them already within the clutches of the latter, thus securing that they should not be the possession of a rival, while reluctantly brought to the necessity of abandoning them as a part of the French conquests in the Pacific."

The French treaty, however, was given reluctantly, and after long, vexatious delay; and it remained but three or four years in force till it was vilely violated. A concession was made in it, with regard to wines and brandies, that the Hawaiian government might impose on them a higher import duty than on any other French productions; in fact, as high a duty as they should think fit, provided only it were not so high as absolutely to prohibit their importation. Accordingly, the government imposed on brandy a duty of five dollars per gallon. But in 1839, Admiral Tromelin appeared at Honolulu with a strong force, and demanded the reduction of that duty to fifty per cent. *ad valorem*, and also made eight or nine other demands of a kind quite inconsistent with the nation's independence. The king refused compliance, and at the same time strictly enjoined his people to take no notice of anything the French might do. The French then landed, took possession of the fort, spiked the guns, and threw them from the ramparts, destroyed the ammunition and public stores, took down the Hawaiian flag and hoisted the French

Hostile visit of Admiral Tromelin.

one, held undisputed dominion over the town for three days, seized all the Hawaiian vessels that were in port, together with the king's yacht, and then set sail in three divisions for California, Valparaiso, and Tahiti. All classes of the people crowded the streets, out of curiosity, during the whole of the three days; but, though burning with indignation, they unanimously concurred in the king's wise policy of non-resistance, and therefore looked silently on, and behaved as decorously as European crowds are wont to do on even their finest gala days. How striking the contrast between the French and the Hawaiians!—not merely the contrast between the invaders and the invaded, the oppressors and the oppressed, but between the base and the honourable, between the cowardly and the courageous! Never, perhaps, was there so remarkable an instance of a "great" people playing the poltroon under the pretence of "glory," and of a "little" people displaying lofty magnanimity under the simple influence of correct moral principle.

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Decorous behaviour of the Hawaiians.

Roman Catholicism, ever since La Place procured its toleration in the Sandwich Islands, has worked so vigorously against Protestanism there as to keep it fully on its mettle. At the time of Sir George Simpson's visit, which happened in 1841, there were three priests in Honolulu, and two or three more in other parts of the archipelago. Romanism was daily spreading its influence among the natives, and the priests in Honolulu were building a large cathedral, and had two schools under their care, attended by about nine hundred young persons of both sexes, and were shortly expecting their bishop on a tour of visitation. Great things also have been done since, yet not to the forming of any proper, solid, consistent, Roman Catholic community, but chiefly to the sheltering of fugitives from church discipline, the deceiving of outcasts and half-heathens, and the embarrassing or perhaps the provoking and invigorating of the Protestant missionaries, the native Christian teachers, and the Protestant

Progress of Popery.

CHAP. XIII. schoolmasters. "Christians in some places," says Cheever, "are accustomed to pray to be kept from Popery, as the thing brought in with the gun. The *Poe-Pope*, or Popish party, is but another name for the adulterous and sin-loving or smoking party, that practise all uncleanness with greediness. When a man is caught in adultery, he often turns Catholic; and going to the *Poe-Pope* is merely going to get a licence to commit sin. They will often give no other reason for some things than to say, 'Our side does so and so.' Riding out once with another missionary, we met two men smoking, and the missionary entering into conversation with them, 'O!' said the spokesman, as if that were enough, 'our side smokes.' It would be well if things were called by their right names everywhere as much as here. In the more southern groups of Polynesia, Williams tells us, Christians and idolaters were distinguished from each other as 'Sons of the word, and 'Sons of the devil.' Here they are the *Poe-Pope* and *Poe-Hoahanau*, or fraternity of brothers. Popery came in here with the guns and brandy of La Place, too Popish like, and its discordance with genuine Christianity is too glaring for it ever to attain great popularity or influence with the Hawaiians. The Bible was too long before it, and the names of blasphemy and deceit were stamped too deep on its brazen brow for it ever to get into reputation here. It is not too much to hope that the *Poe-Pope* and the *Poe-Hoomaloka*, that is Papists and unbelievers, will soon be merged in the overwhelming preponderance of the *Poe-Hoahanau*. An old man, once a member of the Church in Kau, on the island of Hawaii, was excommunicated for some immorality from the Protestant church, and united at once with the Papists. The missionary called on him some time after, and asked him why he turned to images again. Do you not worship images and pray to Mary? He replied, 'We do.' Why? 'The French priests came to me, and flattered me, and made everything appear so smooth, that I thought I would consent to go to

The Poe-Pope, or Popish party.

A pervert to that party.

their worship, though I did not like it. I went, and they persuaded me to receive baptism, and told me I should see the kingdom of heaven. I consented, but saw no other heaven than we all see, which I saw in the days of Kamehameha.' Do you not see their religion is false?' 'Yes, it is false;' was his emphatic reply. My advice to you is to turn to Christ, and repent truly, and renounce images. He replied, 'I will not worship images any more; but you see me. I am just what I was when you excommunicated me; I have never repented.' The next morning he came to the Protestant meeting, publicly renounced Popery, and put down his name among the enquirers, saying, 'The priests made me the arbiter of all the Papists in this part of Kau.'"

Reconversion of the pervert.

In 1849, the population of the Sandwich Islands, as ascertained by census, was 80,641; the number of Roman Catholic schools was 101, and the number of Roman Catholic scholars 2,631; the number of Protestant schools 426, and of Protestant scholars 16,407; and the number of persons in full communion with the Protestant churches was 22,831. This statement affords some idea of the present moral condition of the people; yet falls far short of suggesting the whole amount of what is pleasing. Six of the schools were high schools, communicating a wide and liberal education; and many of the others contained the ordinary apparatus of the common country schools of New England. No fewer than 5,001 of the scholars were learning geography, and so many as 6,603 were learning arithmetic. The Protestant churches, also, as to their evangelicalism, their prayerfulness, their missionary zeal, their morals, and their discipline, had a very high character; insomuch that they probably contained far more energy in themselves, and exerted far more influence for good on formalists, half-heathens, and all other classes of the unconverted, than if, with a looser standard of admission, they had let into their fellowship the entire population. So strict was their discipline that, at the taking of the census

The Protestant churches.

CHAP. XIII. in 1849, no fewer than 2,206 quondam members were lying under sentence of exclusion.

Effects of the Protestant missions.

The effect of the Protestant missions upon the general character of the islands has been wonderful. So late as 1819, the inhabitants were such inveterate thieves, that when a white man landed on any part of the shores, he could scarcely call his hat his own; and only twenty years after—in 1839, when missionary influence had not attained near its present pitch of power—they were as honest a people as any on the earth. And now they are as conspicuous for temperance, brotherly-kindness, Sabbath-sanctification, and some other virtues but too little practised in "old Christian countries," as for their honesty. "If," says Mr. Cheever, "the pedestrian and canoe-traveller on Hawaii be a missionary, or a missionary's friend, and known to be such, he soon learns that he can trust himself and his goods into their hands with more confidence of impunity than into the hands of any other people the world over." He is surprised at the practical every-day influence of the religious truths they have imbibed, and finds himself forced to the conclusion that there is not in all the world at the present time, nor in its whole past history, such another instance of a purely moral ascendancy gained over a people by religious teachers as at the Sandwich Islands. This is seen in a thousand nameless ways, that can only be known to the observant and candid traveller. He will hear the voice of prayer in the lowly cabins where he is a wayfarer, morning and evening; and when there is a cluster of houses together, he will hear a conch-shell blown at the matin-hour to summon the dwellers to the rude school-house for social worship and thanksgiving to the Giver of all good. On board the native schooner or canoe in which he may be travelling, he will hear the Hawaiian captain call to devotions every morning and even, and either himself lead in an appropriate extempore prayer, or call upon another. When sitting around their calabash of *poi*, he will hear

Prevalence of devotional habits.

them invoke the blessing of Jehovah. On the Sabbath he will find a scrupulous external regard to the sacredness of the day, wherever he may be, far above what he has been used to in lands long Christianized; and often, perhaps, he will find his own practical religion, and that of his more civilized countrymen, signally rebuked by conscientious Hawaiians; as in the instance of the native governor of Oahu, Kekuanaoa, who, when waited upon once on the Sabbath morning by the lieutenant of a United States ship-of-war just arrived, in order to make arrangements for a salute to the fort, promptly answered, that he was just going to the house of God, and would attend to that business on Monday." CHAP. XIII.

Social improvement has followed closely in the path of education and religion. A description of Honolulu, written in 1841, says—"To the south-east of the town is a fine plain of two miles in extent, which is used as a mall or drive every evening in the week except Sunday. The king, the foreign merchants, and numerous natives of both sexes, are seen riding in this public place a little before sunset, amounting sometimes to a hundred equestrians, whose presence gives an air of gaiety not less agreeable than surprising to the transient visiter, especially as the riders, male and female, display no small skill in the management of their horses, which have been introduced from Mexico and Chili. The 'corso' can generally boast of four or five neat gigs and stanhopes, and now and then of a four-wheeled carriage belonging to the governor, drawn by kanakas instead of horses, when he goes short distances. Kaahumanu, the queen-dowager, used to be drawn about in a like manner in a sort of wicker box placed on four wheels. It is admitted, at the same time, that the foreign society is not, in general, very polished, and even that some of the residents are of doubtful character, having made their appearance on the island how and whence no one knows. The occasional visiters are chiefly the masters of American whale-ships, whose pur-

Social improvement of the Hawaiians.

The "corso" of Honolulu.

CHAP. XIII. suits and conversation do not contribute much to the refinement of the natives. There are, however, besides the consuls and missionaries, several highly respectable individuals, who have acquired considerable property by means of trade and commercial speculations. The billiard-room at Honolulu is described as the best that can be seen in any part of the world. It forms a separate building, compact, and neatly finished. The table is on the second floor, in a spacious apartment, kept exceedingly clean, being well ventilated by day, and tastefully lighted up at night."

Progress of social improvement. The progress of social improvement from 1841 till the present day has been great and various. Intemperance, which grievously prevailed for a time among many of the foreign residents, and many of the upper class of the natives, has greatly abated. The foreign society has risen rapidly in enterprise, intelligence, refinement, philanthropy, and piety. The influence of the Protestant missionaries, and of the seamen's chaplains, in the toning of social intercourse, has much increased. The several ports of the group, but especially Honolulu in Oahu, Lahaina in Maui, and Hilo in Hawaii, are fast assuming a sort of urban character, and becoming the most desirable places of residence in the insular regions of the Pacific. The very buildings of Honolulu strike a stranger as remarkable. A promiscuous array of grass-houses, three-quarters of a mile long, accommodates the main bulk of the inhabitants, amounting to seven or eight thousand; and though this has a very plain and very fire-inviting appearance, it is excellently adapted to the climate. The dwellings of most of the foreigners, and of the aspiring natives, are built of sun-dried bricks, in the manner of the houses on the coast of Spanish America, and are plastered with lime and white-washed, so as to be both comfortable and neat. But a few of the dwellings, and some of the stores and warehouses, are well-formed structures of coral, covered with either shingles or zinc, and furnished with

The buildings of Honolulu.

look-outs on the top for descrying the approach of vessels to the outer roadstead. The public buildings also, both governmental and ecclesiastical, are constructed of coral. The custom-house is a large four-storey edifice. The fort commands all the harbour in front of the town, and is itself commanded by a battery on a hill in the rear. The Roman Catholic cathedral looks neat and large. The principal Protestant church was built at an estimated expense, in voluntary Hawaiian labour and contributions, of 30,000 dollars, and is the most conspicuous object of art in the town. CHAP. XIII.

Some notion of the state of refinement in the highest quarters may be formed from the following notice of the parliament and court, in April 1850, written by a lady:—"Last Monday morning we attended the grand celebration of the opening of the parliament. On reaching the palace gates, a file of soldiers guarded each side of the road, which is broad and level, to the stone church, where the exercises were held. We were in good time, and shown to the seat next to that which the king occupies. The building seats 3000, and it was filled when the door was darkened by the king's ushers, bearing three great kaliles, from time immemorial the insignia of royalty, and of great value, made of the feathers of rare birds. The dress of the king was blue and gold, with buff pantaloons and white gloves. The queen sat at his right, dressed very becomingly in a very rich straw-coloured silk, a hat to correspond, with flowers within the front, and a delicate white plume without. Behind her chair stood the prime minister, John Young, nearly white, about thirty-five years of age, one of the most elegant men I have ever seen. His every motion is grace itself. His father was an Englishman, married a chieftain's daughter, and was promoted by Tamehameha I. Young's character, acquirements, and eloquence, are said perfectly to correspond with his person and manners. He is the prop of the throne. His elder brother, the governor of Mowee, ad-

Opening of the Hawaiian parliament.

The Hawaiian prime minister.

CHAP. XIII. dressed the House of Lords, and from his graceful gestures and bows, first to the king and then to the people, one would have supposed he had been bred at the most refined court. Mr. Wylie, the minister of foreign relations, and Mr. Armstrong, of domestic instruction, stood at the king's left. The speech was handed to the king by his minister, who, it is said, wrote it. After a short speech from a member of the House of Commons, Governor Young, and John J. J., a chief of uncommon piety and firmness of mind, the exercises closed. I will tell you of our presentation at the court of Tamehameha III., on the evening of the king's birth-day, at the queen's levee. I was quite taken aback at the long array of elegantly-dressed noblemen who saluted us as we passed up the reception-room to the queen's station, and were introduced to her majesty (the king indisposed since dinner) by Mr. Wylie, separately. We then passed on, bowing as we went to the gaily-dressed female chiefs. We saw one or two. The queen surpassed all her female wing in cultivated and refined expressions. At the levee there was present a cousin of Queen Pomare, and her equal in size was never seen on our shores. A white dress and scarf, embroidered in gay colours, adorned her broad shoulders, and her voice was like infant thunder."

The court of Tamehameha III.

The progress of general improvement in the Sandwich Islands has been accompanied by a corresponding progress in trade and commerce. The islands lie in the direct path of communication between North-western America and Asia, and hold such geographical relations to these continents as might entitle them to be called the West Indies of the Pacific. In the period between their settlement under Tamehameha I. and the year 1842, commerce sprang up and advanced in them almost spontaneously. The traders from Nootka Sound touched here on their way to China; the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company from Oregon called for salt and provisions on their way to England; traders from China and Europe

Progress in trade and commerce.

made Honolulu a depôt for smuggling goods into Mexico and Central and Southern America; traders from the United States and from Europe, who disposed of their general cargoes on the Spanish main, and returned home by way of China, sometimes called at the Sandwich Islands to sell the residue of their goods; numerous vessels were fitted out at Honolulu for visiting the various regions of the Pacific in search of bêches-de-mer, pearls, turtle-shells, sharks' fins, esculent bird-nest and sandal-wood; and whale-ships, sometimes to the number of seventy or eighty, rendezvoused twice a year, and remained each time six or eight weeks, at Honolulu, Hilo, and Lahaina. In consequence of all this, the Hawaiians themselves became well acquainted with commercial speculation, the native cultivators of the soil were stimulated to industry, and considerable numbers of shipwrights, carpenters, painters, sailmakers, and other mechanics, settled at the principal harbours.

Native commercial speculation.

Since 1842, the increase in trade and commerce has been exceedingly rapid. Five principal causes, to say nothing of subordinate ones, have produced this—the advancement of the natives in industry and intelligence, the seizure of the islands by Lord George Paulet, the proceedings of the French in the Pacific, the settlement of the Oregon boundary question, and the occupation of California by the American forces. In 1843, the imports amounted in value to 223,385 dollars, and gave a revenue of 8,468 dollars; and only four years after, they amounted to 710,133 dollars, and gave a revenue of 48,801 dollars. In 1849, at the port of Honolulu alone, the value of the imports was 729,739 dollars—of the exports of foreign produce, or re-exports of imports, 198,102 dollars—of the exports of home produce, 89,743 dollars; and the number of merchant vessels which arrived and departed was 162, and of armed or government ships, belonging to Russia, France, Britain, and the United States of America, 13. In the same year 120 whale-ships rendezvoused at Hono-

Trade of the port of Honolulu

CHAP. XIII. lulu, and 154 at Lahaina; and the estimated total value of home produce exported to foreign markets and furnished to foreign vessels from all the islands was 190,000 dollars.

Decrease of the Polynesian population.

But the pleasure which arises from contemplating these tokens of improvement, is sadly marred by evidence that the native population of all the islands is rapidly decreasing under the operation of causes more or less connected with the arrival of the white men. This is the case also with the Georgian Islands, the Society Islands, the Austral Islands, and all the other groups which have had much communication with the race of Japhet. Captain Cook supposed the population of the Sandwich Islands in his time to amount to 400,000, and that of Tahiti to not less than 204,000; yet the census of the Sandwich Islands in 1849, as we have seen, gave a return of only 80,641, and a sober, intelligent estimate of the population of Tahiti in 1841 made it so low as 8000. There is reason to believe, indeed, that the estimates of Captain Cook were great exaggerations, arising from great though unintentional fallacies in his methods of computation. Still, the rapid decrease of the native population during the last seventy years is one of the best ascertained facts in Polynesian geography, and is known and bewailed by the natives themselves. The rate of the excess of deaths over births in the Sandwich Islands, as shown by the census of 1849, exceeds 8 per cent. per annum; and if this rate should continue, the population of these islands will dwindle down in the year 1860 to 32,224, and in the year 1900 to 1162.

Causes of that decrease

Many causes have been assigned for the depopulation; and some of these are sufficiently obvious. Diseases of various kinds have been introduced, compared with which the maladies incident to the climate were mild and innocuous. These diseases also are always aggravated by neglect, or the want of proper nourishment and nursing, or by unskilful treatment on the part of native mediciners.

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An enfeeblement of the constitution of multitudes, too, has resulted from licentiousness and indolence, either personal or entailed, and so great as to make the natives an easy prey to epidemics which do little harm to foreigners. The use of intoxicating drinks, likewise, has done enormous evil. Still, all the perceptible or special causes taken together, which the most intelligent observers have assigned for the rapid depopulation of Polynesia, fail to give an adequate explanation of the melancholy fact. It ought to be remembered that, wherever Europeans have established colonies, the natives have gradually disappeared, losing at once their inheritance and their name. There seems to be a certain incompatibility between the tastes of the savage and the pursuits of civilized man, which, by a process more easily marked than explained, leads in the end to the extinction of the former; and nowhere has this shown itself more visibly than in Polynesia.

Depopulation around all European colonies.

But immensely the most important change which has affected Polynesia is the change in matters of religion. We have hitherto looked at this only in detail, and entirely with reference to the transition of the evangelized islands from heathenism to Christianity. But, as an appropriate conclusion to the whole volume, we may now take a glance at the early moral condition of the Hawaiians and other Polynesians, at the spirit and meaning of their pagan institutes, at the analogies which can be traced between these and the ancient religious systems of the Old World, and at the antagonisms or subordinations which have been presented by their social usages to the reception of the Gospel.

The early moral condition of the Polynesians.

Through the dark cloud which envelopes the early history of Polynesia, it is still possible to ascertain that the natives, more especially those of the central groups, must have inherited from their remote ancestors the principles of a higher knowledge and belief than they were found to possess, when in these latter days they were discov-

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ered by Europeans. A question has been raised whether they migrated directly from Asia to their present abodes, or whether their progenitors had not previously crossed the narrow straits which separate that continent from America. The point in debate is not perhaps worthy of the attention which has been bestowed upon it; and it is certain that, in the absence of all historical muniments, and even of a uniform tradition, it cannot now be satisfactorily determined. The ancient condition of the American tribes is not more perfectly understood than that of the Polynesian families, whose existence, till a period comparatively recent, was not known to any civilized people. That a considerable advance in the arts was made in the vast regions descried by Columbus, many ages before his memorable voyage, does not admit of any reasonable doubt. Relics of architecture and other tokens of an improved state are from time to time brought to light by the enterprise of modern travellers; some of which perhaps are sufficiently well marked to justify the inferences that have been drawn in support of a primitive civilisation throughout those provinces which stretch between the mouth of the river Plate and the Gulf of Mexico. Hence we must allow that there is more than fancy in the conjecture which traces in the rude figures at Easter Island and other parts of the South Sea some affinity to the more finished statues which have been discovered at Copan, Quirigua, Palenque, and Uxmal.*

Early condition of the Americans

Ancient Polynesian religion.

It requires no ingenuity to discover in the religious usages of the Polynesians such a resemblance to those of the other Asiatic nations as to afford the greatest probability that they sprung from the same source. In the practices every where prevailing, we perceive traces of that original faith which, though given to man by a divine agency, has perpetuated itself through a channel so corrupted as to have lost the sublime import and the purer ceremonies by means of which it first addressed

* Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens (2 vols 8vo, Lond. 1841). Vol. i. p. 100-118; vol. ii. pp. 292-310, 420-432.

itself to the acceptation of the descendants of Noah. Even the history of the Israelites, who, prior to their Babylonian thraldom, manifested a strong propensity to adopt the superstitions of the heathen, supplies materials for the illustration of this interesting subject; for, though separated by three thousand years, and the distance of nearly half the circumference of the earth, the posterity of Jacob displayed in their idolatrous worship an affinity to the ignorant hordes who now occupy the islands of the Pacific. The form of the temples in Tahiti and Oahu, erected on the high place or under the green tree, remind the reader of the favourite resort of the chosen people for some ages after they crossed the Jordan. Even in the more guilty rites of human sacrifice we detect the same abuse of a sacred institution. Not only did they "inflame themselves with idols;" they also "slew the children in the valleys under the clefts of the rocks;" and this description given of them by the prophet might have been literally applied to the Georgian and Sandwich Islanders not many years ago.*

Traces of the true religion in it.

Could we trace the crime of infanticide among the natives of the South Sea to its origin, we should probably find that it arose from a religious obligation misunderstood and depraved. An attempt, it is well known, has been made to account for it on the ground of political economy; and a practice, than which none could be more revolting to the feelings of a parent, has been ascribed

How infanticide arose.

* Isaiah, lvii. 5. In allusion to another superstition, the prophet says, "among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot, even to them hast thou poured a drink-offering, thou hast offered a meat-offering."—Verse 6th. The allusion here to the "smooth stones of the stream" is perfectly intelligible to every one at all conversant in heathen antiquities, where many instances occur of such stones being consecrated. It is imagined that the usage may be traced to the days of Jacob, who erected a stone at Bethel and poured oil on the top of it. Arnobius gives an account of his own practice in this respect before he became a Christian: "Si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivi unguine sordidatum; tanquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar, et beneficia poscebam nihil sentiente de trunco."—Lib. i. Lowth's Isaiah, vol. ii. p. 338.

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to the discovery, that population increases faster than any means which can be devised for maintaining it. This conclusion has been too hastily admitted. The breadfruit-tree can be multiplied with little toil, while the supply of food which it yields is less dependent on seasons than the corn of more temperate climates. Nor, amidst so many indications of improvidence and thoughtlessness as disgrace the Polynesians, are we entitled to ascribe to calculation an outrage upon the tenderest sympathies of nature, and one to which the mother especially would oppose the most vigorous resistance. It was not want that impelled the Israelites to slay their infants under the clefts of the rocks, or to pass them through the fire to Moloch. This unnatural sacrifice may without doubt be traced to that most enthralling class of superstitions which, having their origin in a divine ordinance, have been gradually corrupted by the inventions of men. The Levitical law required that the eldest son should be either set apart to the Lord, or redeemed with a price; an injunction which was not unlikely to be misunderstood during the progress of ages, and after the mixture of the chosen people with idolatrous tribes.

How infanticide arose.

Even the institution of the Areois, it is probable, might be traced to a purpose which had for its aim not less the honour of the gods than the welfare of mankind. In the heroic times of Christianity, when the martial spirit inherited from Rome led the warriors of the church into foreign lands to seek a foe worthy of their arms, associations were formed, some of which terminated with as few claims to respect as are conceded to the knights-templar of Tahiti. The atrocities of these last are evidently the corruption of a principle which raised the mind to heaven before it was made the pretext for the grossest impurities. No fraternity has ever had its origin in the contemplation of an unmixed evil; but in many cases has the pursuit of a speculative fantastical good depraved the moral sense, while it wasted the best energies of the soul. We find that even among the sea-rovers

How the institution of the Areois arose.

of Scandinavia communities were formed, where the sanction of religion was employed to consecrate the most unholy engagements. In token of their alliance, the heroes were wont to make incisions in their hands and arms; and besmearing their weapons with the blood, or mixing it in a cup, each of them drank a portion. One of the most remarkable of these associations was that established at Julin, near the mouth of the Oder. From this brotherhood women were absolutely excluded; and in order to be admitted a member, the candidate was required to prove by witnesses that he had never refused to accept a challenge, and to take an oath that he would bring no female into the city. The reader will call to remembrance that the Areois not only claimed a descent from the gods, but their rites always began with sacrifice. Like the ancient Syrians, and even the heathen priests of a more civilized era in Europe, they perpetrated the most offensive immoralities in the name of their deities; mixing the ceremonies of a gross worship, founded on the productive powers of nature, with the maxims of a more early faith which they were unable to comprehend.*

The fraternity of Julin.

A similar connexion may be traced between the usages of the Polynesians and those adopted by the Israelites from their pagan neighbours, and hence an additional proof is obtained of a primitive religion in the central parts of Asia, which had gradually extended in a corrupted form into the islands of the Great Sea. We allude to the practice of inflicting wounds on the body and cutting off the hair, on the death of a relation or a popular chief. Many instances of this custom were observed in the Sandwich group. At a particular village, the missionaries saw that many of the people had their hair either cut away or shaven closely on both sides of the head, while it was left very long in the middle. Upon being asked the reason for so singular a fashion, they replied,

Customs at the death of a relation.

* Scandinavia, Ancient and Modern, &c. By Andrew Crichton, LL.D. (Edinburgh Cabinet Library, Nos. xxiii. xxiv.) vol. i. pp. 174, 175.

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that, according to the custom of their country, they had so disfigured themselves on account of a chief who had been sick, and of whose death notice had just been brought to them. Not to remove the hair in such a case, indicates want of respect towards the deceased as well as to his surviving friends; but to have it cut close in any form is enough. Each individual follows his own peculiar taste, which produces the almost endless variety in which this ornamental appendage of the head is worn by the islanders during a season of mourning. It was also customary, on the occurrence of such a loss, to knock out one or more of the front teeth. The cutting of one or both ears was likewise common as an expression of deep grief, or of profound veneration for the dead. The Friendly Islanders were wont to remove a joint of one of their fingers at the demise of a favourite leader, while their neighbours in the Society cluster cut their faces, temples, and bosom, with sharks' teeth.*

Cutting off the hair.

How the practice of human sacrifice arose.

Following out the principle now stated, we may hazard the assertion, that even the revolting practices connected with human sacrifice had a higher source than the mere impulse of revenge, and that when the blood of man was shed on the altar of the gods, an atonement or propitiation was originally intended. In the course of time, it is true, other motives obtruded themselves; and there is little doubt that, in the selection of his victims, the priest frequently acted with a reference to the

* Ellis's Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 175. The import of the remark made in the text will be more fully comprehended when the reader turns to the Mosaical law, where it is thus written:—"Ye shall not round the corners of your heads, neither shalt thou mar the corners of thy beard. Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you." (Levit. xix. 27, 28.) "Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead." (Deut. xiv. 1.) At a later period, the prophet Jeremiah, bewailing the fate of his countrymen in the latter days, observes, "that they shall die of grievous deaths, they shall not be buried, neither shall men lament for them, nor cut themselves, nor make themselves bald for them; neither shall men tear themselves for them in mourning, to comfort them for the dead."—Chap. xvi. ver. 4-7.

wishes of his chief, who might desire to remove a worthless or a dangerous subject. It may now be impossible to trace this horrible superstition to the fountain whence it took its rise; but, guided by the light supplied to us by history, as well sacred as profane, we may discover the process by which the notion of appeasement was gradually corrupted into the means of gratifying a vindictive feeling or of promoting a political interest. Without examining minutely into the motives of Jephthah when he devoted his daughter, we cannot shut our eyes to the operation of the same principle, which also finds a place in the early annals of Greece. Plutarch relates that three sons of Sandanke, sister to the King of Persia, were offered, in obedience to an oracle, to Bacchus Omestes. The blood-stained altar of Diana is frequently mentioned both by historians and dramatists. Even in the Homeric age prisoners were sometimes slain on the tombs of warriors. Octavius, at an era which boasted a high civilisation, is said to have sacrificed three hundred Perugian captives on an altar consecrated to the deified Julius, the founder of his family. This, no doubt, may be considered as the sanguinary spirit of the age of proscriptions taking a solemn and religious form. A similar conclusion may be drawn in regard to the practice of making a libation of the blood of the gladiators who fell in the arena, as mentioned by Tertullian, Cyprian, and Lactantius. All public spectacles, it is admitted, were to a certain degree religious ceremonies; though it is still possible that the combatants whose blood was formally poured out were victims to the sanguinary pleasures of the Roman people, and not slain in honour of their gods.*

Human sacrifices in ancient Greece.

Libation of the blood of gladiators.

* The Roman authors are full of allusions to human sacrifice. See, for example, the Annals of Tacitus, book i. c. 61, and his Germany, c. 10. Pliny's Natural History, c. 30, 1; and the Fasti of Ovid, book iii. l. 341, where is noticed the reluctance of Numa to offer a human victim. Hadrian issued an edict prohibiting such sacrifices; directed, it is supposed, against the later Mithriac rites, which had again introduced the shocking custom of consulting futurity in the entrails of men. But the sa-

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It may perhaps be regarded in the light of a proof that the usages of the Polynesians have descended to them from a remote antiquity, and through various channels, when we find among them a custom so singular as that of cutting a lock of hair from the head of a dying person devoted to the idols. When a battle took place, the first that either party slew was called "erehua." Frequently the victor jumped upon the expiring body, or spurning it contemptuously, dedicated its spirit to his gods. He then tore off a lock from the top of the forehead, and elevating it in the air, shouted aloud, "a ringlet!" Having despoiled the fallen warrior, he delivered the corpse to the king or priest, who, in a short address, offered the victim to the supernatural powers. The classical reader will recollect instances of a similar observance among the Greeks and Romans, or at least an allusion to an article of their belief that such an office was performed by the minister of death; it being understood that the seat of life was in the brain, and that the spirit could not be released from its earthly prison until a certain portion of the covering which protects the skull had been withdrawn.*

The offering of locks of hair to the gods.

vage Commodus offered a human victim to Mithra, as is related in his Life by Lampridius. In a word, human sacrifices are said to have taken place under Aurelian and even Maxentius. Several other instances are recorded by Mr Milman in his History of Christianity, vol. i. p. 27.

* In the beautiful verses which describe the death of Queen Dido, Virgil introduces this article of the popular faith.

Nam, quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore,
Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
Ergo Iris croceis per cœlum roscida pennis,
Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,
Devolat, et supra caput adstitit: Hunc ego Diti
Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.
Sic ait, et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una
Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.

Æneid. iv. 696.

For since she died, not doom'd by heaven's decree,
Or her own crime, but human casualty,

There remain, we are satisfied, among the people of the South Sea, manifold tokens that they are descended from those primitive families in Central Asia who, at an early age, carried knowledge into the West, and at a subsequent period allowed themselves to sink into a comparative barbarism, when scattered among the islands of the Indian archipelago. Their traditional recollections, not less than their superstitions, identify them with nations who have acted a more prominent part on the theatre of the globe, though climate, food, and peculiar habits have in some degree obscured the resemblance.

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Descent of the Polynesians from the Central Asians.

The progress which has already been made in the conversion of the natives on either side of the equator, may enable the reader to determine the question, whether, in all cases, the lessons of abstract belief should precede the direct means of civilisation; or whether savages ought not to be raised to the rank of men before they shall be invited to receive the mysteries of the christian creed. The analogy of the divine proceedings seems to suggest the inference, that as a fulness of time was required to prepare the heathen world for the introduction of the gospel, so the communication of some degree of secular knowledge, and more especially the habit of reflection and the desire of improvement, must be necessary to prepare the way for the sublime truths with which the missionary is charged. Experience, even in modern times, seems to justify the same method of procedure. It is manifest that, in most cases, the exhortations of the preacher produced little effect until the

Relative order of civilizing and Christianizing.

And rage of love, that plunged her in despair,
The Sisters had not cut the topmost hair,
Which Proserpine and they can only know;
Nor made her sacred to the shades below.
Downward the various goddess took her flight,
And drew a thousand colours from the light;
Then stood above the dying lover's head,
And said, "I thus devote thee to the dead.
This offering to the infernal gods I bear."
Thus, while she spoke, she cut the fatal hair:
The struggling soul was loosed, and life dissolved in air.
DRYDEN.

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chiefs had perceived the beneficial operation of knowledge, and more particularly of art, upon the outward estate of their people. Not being able to raise their minds above the notion of a local or tutelary god, the inhabitants of Polynesia, like all other tribes at the same stage of social existence, showed on every occasion a desire to measure the power of a new divinity by the amount of the advantages which he had conferred upon his worshippers. In this respect, they formed their judgment on a ground similar to that adopted by the American savages, who said, they "would always speak reverently of the Englishman's god, who had done so much better for them than any other gods had done for their votaries."*

National conversion the result of authority.

In point of fact, the conversions throughout the islands of the South Sea have, in the first instance at least, been the result of authority, rather than of conviction produced by an appeal to the reason or the conscience. For a proof of this assertion, it will be sufficient to refer to the happy change which was so suddenly produced at Atiu, Mitiaro, and Mauke. The king, whose own belief in his native superstition was very speedily shaken, issued immediate orders to all his subjects to demolish the marais, burn the idols, and to commence forthwith the erection of a house for the service of Jehovah. Within twenty-four hours after he had first heard of the gospel, he expressed a desire to purchase an axe from his christian visiters, that he might cut down trees for the "posts of God's house." In an equally short space was the new religion established throughout all his dominions; and his people, as soon as they could be informed that their ruler had renounced the ceremonies of his ancestors, were ranked among the followers of the apostles, and forbidden to worship any carved image. Well might one who witnessed these events exclaim, "were three islands ever converted from idolatry in so short a time!—so unexpectedly!—islands almost unknown, and two of them

Instance of this in the Hervey Islands.

* Winthrop's Journal, p. 297.

never before visited by any European vessel! In, as it were, one day, they were induced to consent to the destruction of what former generations had venerated, and they themselves had looked upon as most sacred. The sun had risen with his wonted splendour, gilding the eastern heavens with his glory; and little did the inhabitants of Mauke and Mitiaro imagine, that before he retired beneath the horizon on the western sky, Ichabod would be written upon the glory of their ancestors."* CHAP. XIII.

The Sandwich Islands present another instance, not very dissimilar in principle, where the example of the monarch became a rule of faith to the people. In order to secure the overthrow of a system of belief which had inthralled the minds of all classes during many ages, Rihoriho found it unnecessary to use any other means than to place a dish of unwonted food on the table of his ladies. At Tahiti, too, the lessons of the missionaries had been received, with more or less respect, not fewer than sixteen years before any perceptible effect was produced. It is acknowledged by the zealous individuals themselves, who went forth on that mission of the purest benevolence, that, though the gospel had been constantly preached in most of the Georgian Islands, "there was no individual on whom they could look as benefited by their instructions; no one whose mind was savingly enlightened, or whose heart had experienced any moral change." Smitten with a deep feeling of despair, arising not less from the want of success than the apprehension of personal danger, they at length abandoned the undertaking, considered as an impracticable attempt to convey the blessings of light and salvation to a benighted race. At length they were recalled to their post by Pomare, whose reverses in the field of battle had led him to doubt either the power or the favour of his paternal deities. He, too, manifested his contempt for the ancient rites by cooking and eating meat in an unusual manner; and from that moment the wall of partition was broken

Instance of it in the Sandwich islands.

Instance of it in the Georgian islands.

* Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 90.

CHAP. XIII. down; the idols ceased to be either adored or dreaded; the marais were no longer regarded as sacred; and the power of taboo was confined to certain individuals whose religion rested more on usage than on principle. The change, to use the language of the natives themselves, "burst upon them like the light of the morning."*

Mr Ellis supplies an additional fact, highly illustrative of the deference paid to authority in matters of belief among the islanders of the Pacific. When at Hawaii, he was introduced to one of the royal ladies, to whom, as she seemed to be an intelligent person, he was desirous to recommend the gospel. "I asked her if she did not wish to learn to read, to know and serve the true God; and she answered, yes; but said, we cannot unless the king does. If he embraces the new religion, we shall all follow."†

Royal religious influence in Hawaii.

The same writer, whose candour and intelligence invite the most unbounded reliance in his statements, observes, in reference to the first conversions in the Georgian Islands, that neither the time, the circumstances, nor the means, can in any degree account for the result; and therefore he concludes that the amazing change, in all its departments, bears the impress and exhibits in the

* Ellis, vol. ii. p. 88.

† Polynesian Researches, vol. iv. p. 41. We may add, that Kaahumanu, the lady in question, soon afterwards embraced the true faith, and became an active assistant to the missionaries. It may perhaps be considered unjust to the character of these good men, to leave unqualified the assertion in the text, that most of the conversions, in the first instance, were the result of authority, not of conviction produced by a regular series of theological instructions. We mean not to insinuate that the christian teachers suggested, or in any degree countenanced, the employment of coercive measures on the part of the rulers, in order to accomplish the great object of their vocation. Though not unwilling to regard the chiefs as "nursing fathers and nursing mothers" to the church, nor at all reluctant to invite the arm of power for the enforcement of moral obligation, they did not in any case attempt to supersede argument by the intervention of pains and penalties. We simply mention, that thousands left their old paths, and turned their faces towards the new, for no other reason than because they found an example in the person of their sovereign.

clearest manner the sovereignty and the power of the Almighty. During no period in the history of the mission could "the time to favour" the nation have appeared more unlikely. Public ordinances, it is admitted, were entirely discontinued. The missionaries had but recently returned from their banishment, and the work of instruction had scarcely been resumed. Considering the twelve years they had spent in Tahiti as so much time lost, they were commencing afresh their endeavours in another island, and could hardly expect that at this time, after so protracted a delay, God would at once prosper their enterprise.

The Tahitians converted amid general tumult.

Nor did the gospel gain its first triumph in Polynesia during a period of peace and leisure, when the minds of the inhabitants might have been invited to weigh its evidences or appreciate its doctrines. On the contrary, the change took place amidst war, terror, and defeat. It was a time of humiliation, darkness, and distress, when the people were torn by factions at home, and threatened with extinction by a powerful enemy abroad. Their teachers, it has been shown, were not more favourably circumstanced. Few in number compared to what they had been when they maintained their former station at Matavai, and prevented by personal indisposition and other causes from engaging in their usual labours, their exertions, much to their own regret, were exceedingly circumscribed. In addition to these discouragements, the prejudices of many of the king's most valuable friends were unusually strong, as they considered the continuance of his misfortunes to arise, in part at least, from the countenance he was supposed to bestow on the creed of the foreigners.

No extraordinary means employed.

Hence it is manifest, that in regard to the means employed prior to the great religious movement, there was nothing extraordinary. "From the time of my arrival in the island," says one, "I had always a great desire to know whether any change had been made by the early preachers in their discourses and other means employed at this period; but I have not been able to learn that

CHAP. XIII. there was any thing extraordinary; they do not appear to have varied in any respect the manner or the matter of their instructions. I have often asked Mr Nott and others who were on the spot, if there was any alteration in the mode of instruction, or the nature of their addresses, as to the prominency of any of the doctrines of the gospel, which had not been so fully exhibited before; but I have invariably learned, that they were not aware of the least difference in the kind of instruction, or the manner of representing the truths taught at this period, and those inculcated during their former residence."*

How rude minds are most easily moved.

The difficulty connected with such inquiries will be greatly diminished, if we take into consideration the important fact, that rude minds are more easily moved by an appeal to the senses than to the reason—by a shock from without than by a process of argument operating within. It will accordingly be found, that the sanguinary war in which Pomare was engaged, with the fears, sufferings, and humiliations resulting from it, had a much closer connexion with his change of theological views than can be claimed for the discourses of the missionaries, however earnest and persuasive. One of the most distinguished of these zealous men observes, "it is a very remarkable fact, that in no island of importance has Christianity been introduced without a war."† The "shaking of the nations" is not less necessary now than it was in the ancient days, viewed as an instrument for opening a path towards true knowledge and the means of salvation. The loss of a battle has often been succeeded by a more decided and permanent result than could have been produced by the united powers of eloquence, zeal, and the profoundest learning.

Conflict in Raiatea.

In Raiatea, a memorable conflict took place, which almost immediately led to the subversion of idolatry in that and the neighbouring island. One of the vanquished, when a prisoner in the hands of the hostile chief,

* Polynesian Researches, vol. ii. p. 181.
† Williams' Missionary Enterprises, p. 184.

addressed his brethren as follows:—"This is my little speech. Let every one be allowed to follow his own inclination; for my part, I will never again, to the day of my death, worship the gods who could not protect us in the hour of danger. We were four times the number of the praying people, yet they have conquered us with the greatest ease; Jehovah is the true God. Had we conquered them, they would at this moment have been burning in the house we made strong for the purpose; but instead of injuring us, our wives or our children, they have prepared for us a sumptuous feast. Theirs is the religion of mercy; I will go and unite myself to this people." This declaration, we are told, was listened to with so much delight, and similar sentiments were so universal, that every one of the heathen party bowed their knees that very evening, for the first time, in prayer to Jehovah. On the following morning, after worship, both Christians and heathens issued forth and demolished every marai in Tahaa and Raiatea; so that in three days after this memorable battle, not a vestige of idol-worship remained in either of these islands! Nor must it escape notice, that all this took place under the sole superintendence of the natives themselves, for at that time there was no missionary in those parts.*

Results of the conflict.

Such conversions, it is manifest, having so small a basis of principle, cannot be relied upon as the permanent foundation of enlightened faith or of a steadfast morality. The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to find that, in all the islands of the Pacific, there has been considerable vacillation, and that the belief which was so hastily acquired was not in all cases resolutely or consistently maintained. The missionary is too apt to forget that the era of conversion is but the beginning of his labour; and that his task, so far from being completed, is just about to commence. Among savages, there is a fickleness of nature which leads them, after the manner of children, to delight in change; and hence, when the

Instability of national conversions.

* Williams, p. 190.

CHAP. XIII. first excitement connected with the profession of a new religion has begun to subside, they not unfrequently show themselves ready to relinquish it. Of this unsteadiness we are supplied with an example by Mr Williams, who, after detailing in a very interesting manner the circumstances which attended the introduction of Christianity into one of the islands, relates that, "at a meeting of the chiefs and people, whether convened by accident or design we could not ascertain, a proposition was made and carried to revive several of their heathen customs, and, immediately after, the barbarous practice of tattooing commenced in all directions, and numbers were seen parading the settlement decorated in the heathen trappings which they had abandoned for several years." For a time, the missionaries deemed it expedient to yield; thinking it wise "to allow the people to take their own course, concluding that the young chiefs must have powerful supporters, or they would not have had the temerity to act as they did."*

Example of unsteadiness.

Enlightened by the experience of many years, the christian philanthropist must now be convinced, that success in missionary enterprise is not always in proportion to the extent of the means employed; and, moreover, that the path which, in most cases, has led to a triumphant issue was opened by circumstances which, to the human eye, appeared entirely accidental. Generally speaking, conversion has been preceded by a deep excitement arising from suffering or fear; by the ravages of war or famine; or by a bold innovation on the part of the chiefs, who had already opened their minds to infidelity relative to the power of their national gods. It seems absolutely necessary that, before his conscience can be affected with the sense of guilt, the spirit of the savage must be agitated by some external cause; and it

How conversion has generally occurred.

* Enterprises, p. 379. For some remarks already made by us on this subject, we refer to pages 103, 104; and we have now returned to it solely because we find a great difference of opinion subsisting among authors as to the most efficacious manner of converting heathen tribes.

is a singular fact, attested by evidence which cannot be questioned, that the first intercourse of Europeans with the natives of Polynesia has usually been fatal to the latter. Fever, dysentery, or other diseases which carried off great numbers of them, have in most cases attended the introduction of our people into all the groups; and at Rapa, more especially, about half of the population were by such means swept away. These painful losses induced reflection among the survivors, who, in many instances, were disposed to forsake their ancient faith, either because their gods were unable to protect them in the presence of white men, or were utterly indifferent to their interests. Hence, under the direction of Divine Providence, a way was paved for the missionaries, who laboured to withdraw their confidence from the "lying vanities" in which they had formerly trusted, and to raise their thoughts to the contemplation of the great Creator.*

Influence of affliction.

An intelligent native of Tahiti, it ought to be mentioned, proceeded on a different principle, and was converted by his reason and not by his fears. It is well known that a custom prevailed of offering pigs to the deity, which, for this purpose, were placed on a species of altar at the marai. From that moment they were considered sacred, and if afterwards any human being, the priests excepted, dared to commit so great a sacrilege as to partake of the offering, it was supposed that the offended god would punish the crime with instant death. The individual in question thought a breach of this law would be a fair criterion of the power of the idol, and

Influence of reason.

* Williams, p. 281, observes, "it is certainly a fact which cannot be controverted, that most of the diseases which have raged in the islands during my residence there have been introduced by ships; and what renders this fact remarkable is, that there might be no appearance of disease among the crew of the ship which conveyed this destructive importation, and that the infection was not communicated by any criminal conduct on the part of the men. The reader will remember, that it was when Pomare was ill his people proposed to destroy the images of Oro, presuming that the god was either malignant or powerless."

accordingly stole some of the consecrated meat, and retired to a solitary part of the wood to eat it, and perhaps to die. As he was partaking of the food, he expected at each mouthful to experience the vengeance he was provoking; but having waited a considerable time in awful suspense, and finding himself rather refreshed than otherwise by his meal, he quitted the retreat and went quietly home. For several days he kept his secret, but finding no bad effects from the transgression, he disclosed it to every one, renounced his religion, and embraced Christianity.

THE END.

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